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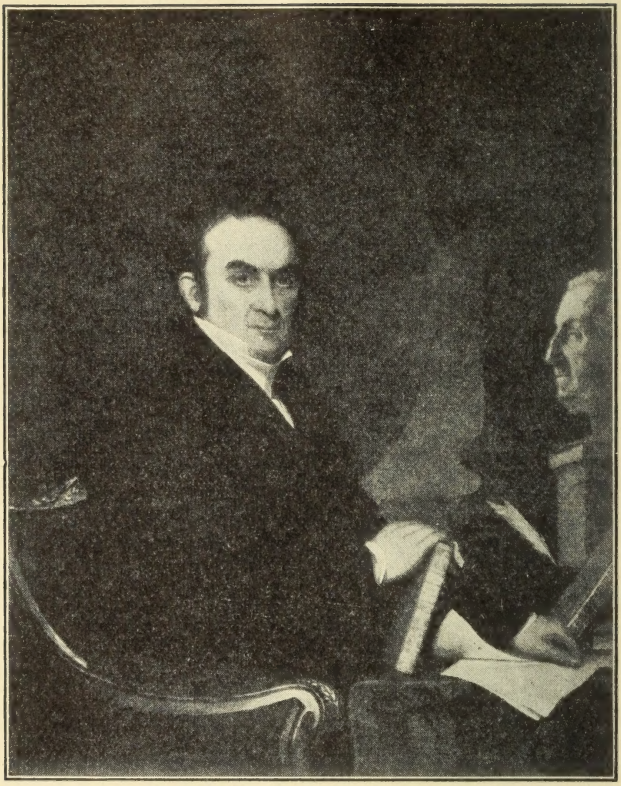

DANIEL WEBSTER.

WASHINGTON'S
FAREWELL ADDRESS

AND

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BUNKER HILL ORATIONS

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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PREFACE

WASHINGTON'S "Farewell Address" and Webster's "First Bunker Hill Oration" are together regarded as equivalent to one work in the requirements of the schools for study and practice. The "Second Bunker Hill Oration" is added because it seems that every student of the First Oration would desire to read and, if time should allow, to study the many eloquent passages of the Oration upon the Completion of the Monument. It may be that the interest will not stop until all the occasional addresses mentioned in the Introduction have been read.

The helps provided in this volume give facts that were known to many of the original hearers of the Orations or the first readers of the Address. Such facts should add pleasure to the study or interest in the reading, but they are not meant for recitation. The lives of the authors will serve for convenient reference, when fuller biographies have been read.

The analyses of the productions, purposely made topical like a table of contents, will afford a convenient and rapid survey of the whole, while they will in no way interfere with the important exercise of writing sentences that embody the thoughts of paragraphs. The further work of instruction, grammatical, rhetorical, critical, and inspiring, is left to the teacher. May these noble expressions of patriotic devotion be so taught as to lead the youth of our schools to greater love of our common country.

WASHINGTON

WHERE may the wearied eye repose,
When gazing on the Great;
Where neither guilty glory glows,
Nor despicable state?
Yes, one, the first, the last, the best,
The Cincinnatus of the West,
Whom envy dared not hate,
Bequeath the name of Washington,
To make man blush there was but one!

— BYRON.

WEBSTER

TAKE him for all in all, he was not only the greatest orator this country has ever known, but in the history of eloquence his name will stand with those of Demosthenes and Cicero, Chatham and Burke. — LODGE.

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INTRODUCTION

I

GEORGE WASHINGTON

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born on February 22, 1732, at Bridges Creek, Westmoreland County, Virginia, in the homestead of his father, Augustine Washington, beside the wide waters of the lower Potomac River. His ancestor, John Washington, had come from England to America in 1656. The family shared in the prosperous life and growth of Virginia; and, when Washington was born, his father owned more than five thousand acres of land, and was acquiring wealth in the directing of mining and commerce. The father died in 1743, leaving to his eldest son the best part of the estates, including Hunting Creek, afterward named by the heir Mt. Vernon; and to the other surviving son of his first marriage the lands about Bridges Creek. George Washington,

then but eleven years of age, was left to the care of his mother, the second wife, Mary Washington. He had the prospect, when he should become of age, of the farm, where he then lived with his mother and the younger children in Stafford County, across the Rappahannock from Fredericksburg. It was a high-spirited, vigorous, resourceful stock from which Washington was descended.

His school life was not such as it would have been, if his father had lived to a greater age. The sexton, Hobby, at his home on the Rappahannock, led him in the first steps of knowledge. Later he went to school to Mr. Williams at Bridges Creek, where, by the aid of Mather's *Young Man's Companion*, he made exact progress in arithmetic, surveying, measurements, legal forms, and didactic rules of behavior, as his preserved manuscripts, written in a well-rounded hand, faithfully show. If his father had lived, he might have had the opportunity to complete his education in England, as his father and brothers had. In place of this, however, he had the vigorous experience of hunting and journeying in the wilds, and he had also the society of his brother Lawrence at Mt. Vernon and of Lord Fairfax, the accomplished scholar and gentleman, at Belvoir, not far away, and later at

Greenway Court near the Shenandoah. Participation in the social and business life of the men of that time on the banks of the Potomac brought forward at an early age the independent and manly character of the young Washington.

In 1748, when he was but sixteen years of age, Lord Fairfax set him to work to survey and make maps of extensive estates beyond the Blue Ridge. Through vast forests and over swollen streams, among stray Indians and ignorant emigrants, he carried out his work with patience and skill to the pleasure of his employer, so that Fairfax secured for him an appointment as official surveyor. For three years, on old land and on new, he had all he could do in this strenuous occupation.

His brother Lawrence, suffering from consumption contracted at Carthagena, where he had served under that Admiral Vernon from whom Mt. Vernon was named, must needs go to the West Indies, and Washington went with him in 1751. His accounts of the Barbadoes are agreeable reading. This was the only time that Washington was outside of his country. The sea voyage proved unavailing, and his brother died in 1752, leaving to Washington the care of his estate, of his wife and little daughter, and making

him the heir in case of the latter's death. Thus at twenty years of age he found many and important cares placed upon him.

But Washington was soon drawn away from home to military life. Years before, at his brother's at Mt. Vernon, he had received training from visiting military officers of France in martial drill and sword exercises. Before his brother's death he had taken the latter's place as major in the militia. Now the efforts of the French to dislodge the English settlers from the Ohio afforded opportunity for the services of this brave and masterful man. Washington was sent as a messenger by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to the French commander at Fort Le Bœuf, through two hundred and fifty miles of almost tractless wilderness, to demand that the French withdraw from the valley of the Ohio. In October, 1753, he set forth, in January he was back, though with the refusal of the French commander, yet with an exact knowledge of the country and the enemy's forces. In the next spring, at Great Meadows, he learned what battle was, and opened the French and Indian War. The following year he was with General Braddock on his fatal expedition against Fort Duquesne, as aide-de-camp, and did what he could to give sense

to the fight, to save the retreat, and to hold the way into Virginia. For the rest of the war, with poor resources, he was the defence of the long frontier, and rejoiced at last to be with General Forbes when, in July, 1858, he entered again the woods by the union of the rivers and changed the name of the old fort of the wilderness to Pitt. Arduous, preparatory upbuilding were these harassing years of his first military life.

When Washington was twenty-six years old, he married a beautiful widow of like age, Mrs. Martha Custis, who brought to him two children by her former marriage, and large wealth in money and lands. This, with the estates now his at Mt. Vernon, made him one of the wealthiest men of Virginia. He became a most successful business man and planter. He thoroughly enjoyed hunting and the chase with the horse and hounds. He was a fine, polished gentleman, scrupulous and elegant in dress, delighting in the social life. He was honored in the House of Burgesses, of which he was a member, and he became a leading man of the colony.

After the French and Indian War was finished, the various attempts to tax the colonies led to the Revolution. Washington was present as a member, when

the fiery eloquence of Patrick Henry induced the Virginia Assembly to adopt the Declaration of Rights. As events moved on, he came slowly but unflinchingly to the position of determined opposition, and at last he himself moved that the people no longer import the things which Parliament had taxed. In practice he allowed none of those articles to be used on his estates. When the Boston Port Bill came into operation on June 1, 1774, he joined in the day of fasting and prayer, and upon August 1, at the Convention of Virginia, he offered to raise one thousand men at his own expense and march to the relief of Boston.

In September, 1774, Washington took a silent part in the session of the Continental Congress as one of the delegates from Virginia. He watched the proceedings, visited among the members to secure harmony of action, and was considered by many delegates, as Patrick Henry said, the greatest man on the floor in "solid information and sound judgment." The Congress was a momentous gathering of great men, the slow beginning of the union of the forces of liberty. It formed an "American Association," engaging not to trade with England until the hostile legislation should be repealed. The Congress adjourned till spring. When it came together again in

May, 1775, the war had begun with Concord and Lexington. While it was in session, a Williamsburg mob had caused the governor of Virginia to withdraw. Washington was ready and expecting action, and came to the Congress daily in his military uniform. At last John Adams, on the 15th of June, declared that the army must be adopted, and that there was but one person for its command, "a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the union." Then Washington was chosen commander-in-chief.

For almost nine years he held that commission, and when he resigned it he was the foremost man in the world. The story of the long service is the familiar story of the Revolutionary War. After a stately progress to Boston, he organized, drilled, and entrenched the army around that city, until by a sudden occupancy of Dorchester Heights, in March, 1776, he compelled the withdrawal of the British from Boston. Again, at New York, he engaged in the work of organization and fortification, but before superior numbers he skilfully withdrew from Brooklyn

Heights; sullenly and slowly, with battles at Harlem Heights and White Plains, he left the island of New York, and retired before the advancing enemy across New Jersey and beyond the Delaware. By the heroic recrossing of the storm-tossed, icy Delaware, on Christmas, 1776, at Trenton, he seized the centre of the British line, and a few days later, at Princeton, he so routed the British at the place of their stores that soon they had to withdraw from central New Jersey, and found it impossible later to advance across it in their campaign. When the British came by water to Philadelphia, though at Brandywine, September 11, 1777, Washington met defeat in a hard-fought battle, he showed such boldness and skill in his well-planned attack at Germantown, October 3, that the formidable character of the American Revolution was evident. As commander-in-chief, by the disposal of his troops, he contributed largely toward the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga, October 17, 1777. With unshaken devotion to the patriotic cause, Washington endured the hardship and sufferings of the dreadful winter at Valley Forge. When the British, fearing the arrival of the French, abandoned Philadelphia, Washington overtook them and defeated them at Monmouth, June 28, 1778, and but

for the treachery of Lee he would have completely crushed Clinton's army. This was the last important battle at the north. With noble and persistent effort for the next three years, he, the mainstay of the Revolution, kept his forces together around New York, enduring both the vacillating support of Congress in supplies and the uncertain continuance of his troops, cut to the heart by the treachery of Arnold, yet undismayed by the severe trials of the winter of 1780–1781 at Morristown. At length the end came. Washington, with admirable skill, kept Clinton in fear of attack in New York, while he with six thousand men found his way to Yorktown, Virginia, and there, in union with Lafayette's forces and the French fleet, caused, on October 18, 1781, the surrender of Cornwallis. Thus the power of Great Britain in America was broken. Slowly the steps for peace were taken, but upon April 19, 1783, Washington declared to his army that the War of the Revolution was ended, and upon the 23d of December, before the Congress in Annapolis, he laid down his commission in a noble speech of simple grandeur.

Washington, now at his home at Mt. Vernon, was the first citizen in the United States. In every way that he could, he labored for a stronger union and a better

government. By innumerable letters to men throughout the country, by the reception of visitors at his hospitable home, by learning of the needs of the new West from a personal visit, by planning for the opening of the Potomac as a means of communication by sympathizing with all efforts for mutual advantages of the states, he was advancing the cause that was leading from the weak confederacy to a real central power. Therefore, when the convention gathered in 1787 to make "the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union," Washington was the leading delegate from Virginia, and became the president of the convention. Under his dignified direction the body accomplished its object, and presented to the country that wonderful document, the Constitution of the United States, which, on its ratification by eleven of the states, was declared in force September 13, 1788.

Washington was the logical candidate for the presidency, and was unanimously chosen the first president. By his dignity of manners and by his grandeur of moral character, he established the position of that office and brought respect to the government. He was found to be as great in matters of peace as of war. He bound the country together

in himself through extensive tours in the North and in the South. Surrounded by competent advisers, he led the country through difficulties in finance, and, if possible, greater dangers in connection with the French Revolution. Feeling that his work of establishing the nation was not done, he allowed himself to be reëlected. The troubles with France hardly finished were followed by those with England. The treaty which John Jay made with that country brought upon Washington slander and abuse. But he stood unmoved yet sorrowful at his post, until, as his term of service ended amid general prosperity, men were ashamed of their disgraceful conduct. With his sincere *Farewell Address*, in 1796, he showed his character and love of country, as he indicated his retirement from public service in 1797.

Affecting was the scene of Washington's departure, when John Adams was inducted into the office of president. Tears rolled down Washington's face as the people bade him good-by at the threshold of his abode. He returned to his beloved Mt. Vernon, and entered upon his old life. He had devoted much of his fortune and the whole of his heart to his country. At one time when there seemed to be a spark of war, he was called to be commander-in-chief again.

But it passed by. While still following his country's problems, he found pleasure in his home-life and the marriage of his granddaughter. Calmly and nobly, on the 13th of December, 1799, he met his end, after but a day's illness. His countrymen, everywhere struck with grief, mourned and praised him as the Father of his Country.

II

DANIEL WEBSTER

THE family of Daniel Webster was probably of Scotch origin, but from England the Puritan ancestor, Thomas Webster, came to New Hampshire in 1636. In a few generations the Websters were numerous in the colony, and one of them, Ebenezer Webster, after gallant service in the French and Indian War, built a log house on the northern borders of settlement in the town of Salisbury, near the Merrimac River. From this place he went forth as captain of two hundred fellow-settlers to fight in the battles of the Revolution. Imposing in stature, vigorous and courageous, self-sacrificing and affectionate, though without a day of schooling acquiring learning enough to

be a judge in his own town, of forceful mind and noble character, Ebenezer Webster became the ideal father for his richly endowed son. In a framed house, near by the log cabin, the child of a second wife and the next to the last of ten children, Daniel Webster was born on the 18th of January, 1782.

The next year the father moved to another part of the town, afterward named Franklin, and there, at a place upon the Merrimac, later called "Elms Farm," under the fond care of a self-sacrificing mother and the noble influence of a masterful father, in the midst of an affectionate family, Webster passed his childhood days. As he appeared to be quite frail, he was sent as much as possible to school and was allowed to play in forest and field. He learned from nature lessons that he never forgot. If the schools were poor, he learned by reading everything that he could find and by committing good literature to memory. When fourteen years old he was sent to Phillips Exeter Academy, where he rapidy advanced in his studies and began his Latin. In February, 1797, he was transferred to the care of a private teacher, Rev. Samuel Wood, of neighboring Boscawen, and was overcome with joy as he learned that his father in his straitened circumstances intended to send him

to college. With this teacher he studied Virgil and Cicero, while at the same time, with a college senior, he learned in six weeks a little Greek grammar, and studied the four Evangelists of the New Testament. Thus poorly prepared, he entered Dartmouth College in August, 1797.

In college he soon became the foremost student. As he was poorly prepared in Greek, he never excelled in that language, and could not become the first scholar in his class. But he was very proficient in Latin, and the superior of all in history and literature. He excelled in oratory at the societies and in literary work. The people of Hanover asked him to deliver their Fourth of July oration in 1800, and the students appointed him to give a funeral eulogy over a deceased comrade. In college Webster filled his memory with rich stores of learning, the beginning of a great reservoir of knowledge that served him in good stead during his forensic life.

In 1801, immediately after leaving college, Webster entered the office of a neighboring lawyer, Mr. Thompson, and began to read law, and continued to read history and literature. He never lost sight of play while at his work, and kept up his intimacy with the rod and the gun. In order to help his older brother

Ezekiel to remain at Dartmouth, he broke up his studies to teach at Fryeburg, Maine. He proved himself a successful teacher. To earn more money he found time to copy legal papers, yet he kept reading everything he could find in literature. Back again the next year at study with Mr. Thompson, Webster remained there until his brother was through college, when he went to Boston and entered the law office of the Hon. Christopher Gore, afterward governor of Massachusetts and United States senator. Here he had opportunity to study and read more widely, to meet distinguished men, and to get a glimpse of a larger life. While studying here, he received an offer of a clerkship of the court in New Hampshire, at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars, but he refused it, to the sorrow and disappointment of his father, yet with the feeling that it would prevent his advance in the future. In the spring of 1805 he was admitted to the practice of law in Boston, and soon opened an office in Boscawen, New Hampshire, so as to be near his father in his declining years. After the death of his father he gave up his practice of about six hundred a year to his brother, and in May, 1807, he began in Portsmouth his practice before the Superior Court in New Hampshire.

During the next ten years, from 1807 to 1817, Webster found himself as a lawyer and statesman. By the side of Jeremiah Mason as a companion and opponent, he advanced in skill as a pleader and in self-restraint and power as an orator. His practice increased until it became worth two thousand a year, as large as it could be in that section of the country. Led into politics by addresses in opposition to the War of 1812, he was twice sent to Congress. There he, at first occasionally and later frequently, took part in public discussions, until he occupied a most commanding position. By favoring the increase of the navy, by advocating sound measures in finance, taxation, and specie payment, by seeking a liberal interpretation of the Constitution, he vigorously served his country.

During this period, in 1808, Webster married a beautiful and accomplished woman, Grace Fletcher, of Hopkinton. Of social and sympathetic nature, he richly enjoyed his home. After the death of his favorite daughter Grace, he had no heart for public affairs, and it was with a feeling of relief that he retired to private life in 1817.

While Webster was in Congress he had begun a lucrative practice in the Supreme Court, and in 1816

he found it for his advantage to change his home to Boston. At once an income of ten thousand dollars rewarded him, as he took his place among the leaders of the Boston bar. For five years he devoted himself with the highest success to his profession. In 1818, with great eloquence and pathos, he pleaded the case of Dartmouth College before the Supreme Court of the United States, leading to the famous Marshall decision on the scope of the Constitution. In 1820 he took a distinguished part in the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, especially in favoring the abolishment of the religious test for officeholders. In the same year he showed himself the great master of occasional oratory in the celebrated Plymouth oration at the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims.

In answer to public demand, Webster represented Massachusetts in the lower house of Congress for six years. In those quiet years of "good feeling," before the new lines of party were drawn, occupying an independent position, the first man upon the floor, he performed noble service for his country. He expressed the sympathy of a great nation with the Greeks struggling in revolution, he supported the building of the national Cumberland road to unite

the sections of the country, and he set forth the "Monroe Doctrine," successive steps in his advancement as defender of national unity. While a member of the House of Representatives, he was called to deliver two of his remarkable occasional addresses, that at Bunker Hill, in 1825, and the eulogy of Adams and Jefferson, in 1826. The spirit and eloquence of these orations were in harmony with his public services upon the floor of Congress.

From 1827 to 1841 Webster represented Massachusetts in the Senate of the United States. At the beginning of his service, his life was clouded with a great grief in the loss of his beloved wife, and he had little inclination for public office. The next year he was again afflicted by the death of his brother Ezekiel, who from early life had been almost a part of himself. He was first summoned to public utterance by the needs of the surviving officers of the Revolution, and in the stirring times he joined with Henry Clay in the support of the tariff and the "American system." Soon the supreme hour of his service was to come, and in the great reply to Hayne, January 26, 1830, in the zenith of his powers, he struck a note for the Constitution and Union that thrilled the Senate and the land, and has never ceased to resound. Throughout

the administration of Jackson and Van Buren he continued in the great debates his defence of the Union.

His work during these years in and out of the Senate was of vast extent and power. In 1830 he made the marvellous plea in the White murder case. In 1832 he set forth at the centennial the matchless character of Washington. In 1833 he vigorously maintained that the Constitution is not a compact, but a government. During this year and the next he delivered innumerable speeches upon the removal of the United States Bank. In 1834 he pleaded for constitutional liberty in a speech on the president's protest. In 1837 he took time for a tour of the West, and in 1839 he enjoyed to the full a friendly visit to England. In 1837, too, he had made his greatest political speech in New York against Jackson and his measures, forseeing the great panic, which soon came. Later, he presented his theories of finance to thousands in campaign speeches throughout the country, contributing to the election of Harrison in 1840.

Webster became the Secretary of State in 1841, and continued in office for two years amid constant difficulties, but with important results. Harrison died within a month, and Tyler became president. The dominant party quarrelled with the executive,

Cabinet secretaries resigned, and Webster had to endure reproach to remain at his post. He did remain, however; effected important measures; brought his learning and intellectual powers to bear upon his work; and, amid almost insurmountable difficulties, which did not end when his real work was accomplished, carried through the Ashburton Treaty with England, arranging the northeast boundary. When all was done, he, with great self-respect, left his office to rejoin his party.

The next two years he was out of public office. At Marshfield he took pleasure in the enrichment of his beloved estate by the sea. He devoted himself with earnestness to his professional duties. At Bunker Hill, in 1843, he delivered another of his great occasional addresses upon the completion of the monument. In the plea on the Girard case, he made a notable defence of the Christian religion. In 1844 he supported Clay for the presidency with vigorous speeches, as he had supported Harrison four years before.

In 1845 he was returned to the United States Senate for his last term. He was in the thick of the fight upon questions arising from the admission of Texas, the Mexican War, and the Oregon question. The way the territory of the United States was ex-

tended was to him a source of great disappointment. After the election of General Taylor, the strife over the disposal of the new territory almost threatened disruption. Finally, Clay secured the approval of Webster in 1850 to a great compromise. Webster attempted in his 7th of March speech to present a basis upon which the North and the South could remain united. For this speech he was made the subject of scorn as recreant to duty by many leading men in the North, but calm consideration leaves little doubt that, however it clashed with his previously expressed views in regard to slavery, it was in accordance with the underlying principle of his entire life, the giving of the first importance to the preservation of the Union.

With the accession of Fillmore in 1850 to the presidency, Webster became for the second time Secretary of State. Though engaged in important and difficult measures, no such great opportunity came to him as when he was Secretary before. At the laying of the corner stone of the addition to the Capitol, on July 4, 1851, he gave the last of his great occasional addresses. He sought but failed to secure the nomination for president in the spring of 1852, as he had failed in 1848 and 1844. Ill health came upon him,

but the president refused to accept his resignation. In July the people of Boston sought to do him honor. On October 23, 1852, the great orator and statesman passed away with the last words upon his lips, "I still live."

III

WASHINGTON AND WEBSTER

THE appropriateness of bringing together in the same volume the writings of Washington and Webster is shown by a comparison of their lives and work. Washington and Webster were alike in majesty of person and in loyalty and devotion to the Constitution and the Union.

Washington was a large, stalwart man, standing six feet two inches high. His hair was chestnut brown, until it became gray in later years. His forehead was square and commanding. His eyes were of a bluish gray, not large, but set far apart. His nose was large and thick, with dilated nostrils and prominent ridge. His cheeks were high and his face broad. His lips were compressed, his mouth was

strong, and his jaw was massive. Though his eyes told of calmness and of benevolence, except when they flashed in moments of valor or of terrible indignation, his face, as a whole, gave the impression of self-possessed but resolute force. His limbs were large and strong. His hands and feet were of unusual size, so that gloves had to be made especially for him, and boots of the highest number were required. He had powerful muscle; he was a practical carpenter and smith; he could surpass those about him in deeds of strength. Strong of foot, he had great endurance in walking; masterful in the saddle, he could ride any steed anywhere. His personal bearing was commanding, his figure full of dignity and force. When on horseback, in stately Continental uniform, he was heroic; when standing in public receptions as president, with one hand upon his sword and the other behind him, he had the dignity and bearing of a king.

Webster, too, was a large, strong man, and though he was not of unusual height, yet when he stood forth to speak he seemed to those who looked upon him like a giant. His hair was full and raven black. His brow was a prominent feature, massive, craggy. He had large black eyes, so large that when he was sickly

in youth he was called "all eyes"; but his eyes were earnest, thoughtful, searching, sometimes even sorrowful. His cheek bones were high, and his broad, full face was dark so that when a boy he was called "black Dan," yet when he spoke in impassioned words, there was a glow upon his cheeks. He had a most expressive mouth, — "a mouth," a foreigner said, "that seemed to respond to all the humanities." In his impassioned eloquence his eyes and mouth seemed to express all emotions from tender affection and sympathy to fearful scorn and rage. His frame was large, his chest broad, and his tread firm. Devoted to athletic exercise, skilful in the use of the gun and the rod, he was vigorous and healthy in all his body. But his voice, musical and rich, now low in tone, now raised in thunderous power, was his greatest personal possession. As he spoke, his features were expressive, powerful, commanding. His whole personality passed into his speech. Men called him Jove-like, as men had called Pericles Olympian. The people of London, as he passed by, said, "There goes a king."

Washington can be truly called the founder of the Constitution and the Union. For forty-five years, as he said, he devoted himself to the cause of his

country. Not only did he, filled with the spirit of liberty, fight the battles of independence, but with a firmness of purpose that nothing could subdue, he held troops and states together; he gave courage and hope to a wavering Congress; he indeed became the bond of union that carried the states together through the long and dark struggle. After the war, by continual effort of pen and word, he sought a stronger union between the states. He presided over the convention that gave birth to that immortal document, the Constitution of the United States. He moulded the forms of its administration; raised a weak and inefficient government to a position of dignity and power; and made the United States one nation, respected through the world. Anxious for the safety of the Union, and with a rare insight into its needs and destiny, he left as a proof of his solicitude, and an expression of benevolent regard, the *Farewell Address to the American People.*

If Washington was the founder of the Constitution and Union, Webster was the expounder and the advocate. As a boy he was stirred by the new Constitution, as he read it from a printed handkerchief. As a youth, moved by the struggles of the young nation from within and from without, he uttered his patriotic

feelings and love of union in a Fourth of July oration. As a lawyer, he set forth constitutional principles that strengthened the power of the government in numerous cases, like that of Dartmouth College and the one that brought the inland waters under the sovereignty of the general government. But as an orator and statesman, on public occasions and in the national halls of legislation, with an eloquence that at times was never excelled, he made the Constitution and Union the theme of his eulogy, his interpretation, and his defence. His occasional addresses from *Bunker Hill* and *Adams and Jefferson*, to *The Laying of the Corner Stone of the Capitol*, his congressional speeches from or before *The Reply to Hayne*, to the *Seventh of March Address*, bear witness to this. The Constitution and the Union was the subject of his life. So true was this, that in the greatest effort of his career, *The Reply to Hayne*, though he had no opportunity for adequate preparation, yet he poured forth for seven hours the most wonderful defence of the Union, because the work and thought of his whole life had been a rich preparation. His intellect gave authority and force to the Constitution, his imagination invested it with glory. One cannot think of the Revolution and birth of our

country without Washington; one cannot think of the Constitution and Union without Webster.

Thus Washington and Webster devoted their lives to one common object, each in his own time and way. Webster in his oration upon *The Character of Washington* thus sets forth Washington's relation to the Constitution: "The domestic policy of Washington found its pole-star in the avowed objects of the Constitution itself. He sought so to administer that Constitution as to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty. These were objects interesting in the highest degree to the whole country; and his policy embraced the whole country." His own attitude toward the Constitution, apparent from all his patriotic addresses, may be seen in the following words from *The Reply to Hayne:* "The people have preserved this, their own chosen Constitution, for forty years, and have seen their happiness, prosperity, and renown grow with its growth, and strengthen with its strength. They are now, generally, strongly attached to it. Overthrown by direct assault it cannot be; evaded, undermined, nullified, it will not

be." . . . "I profess, sir, in my career hitherto, to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country, and the preservation of our Federal Union." When the majestic personality and the supreme object in life of the two men are clearly understood, it is not surprising that one has said, considering the early history of the American Republic: "The two names that will shine with most unfading lustre and the serenest glory, high above all others, are Washington and Webster."

IV

THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

After Concord and Lexington, troops came together from all New England to enclose the British in Boston. Important places were occupied around the city from Dorchester to Chelsea. When it became known that the British intended to take possession soon of the heights that commanded the harbor, the American Committee of Safety determined to anticipate their action by seizing Bunker Hill.

The troops selected for service, with their intrench-

ing tools, under the command of Colonel William Prescott, gathered beneath the elms on Cambridge Common at six o'clock, June 16, 1775. Rev. Samuel Langdon, president of Harvard College, solemnly offered prayer. At sunset they were off on their silent march for Charlestown.

After they had crossed the Neck, men were sent to the town to patrol the shore and watch the British warships lying in the harbor, and the batteries on Copp's Hill on the other side. When Prescott had held a council of war, in which he was assisted by General Putnam, who came out voluntarily in the night for a couple of hours, he ordered a redoubt built upon the most exposed and advantageous position, afterward known as Breed's Hill. Here Colonel Gridley, the veteran engineer, marked out a redoubt, and, as the clocks in Boston struck twelve, the men were at work with the pickaxes and shovels. Prescott went down at night to survey the shore, and heard the men on the warships call, "All is well." By dawn the fortress, six feet high, had been raised. With surprise the British saw it. From ship and hill they opened fire upon it.

The tired garrison needed provisions and needed reënforcements. Major Brooks, afterward governor

of Massachusetts, was sent for them. General Putnam, after requesting reënforcements, hastened to the field. In the morning the lines were extended down toward the shore on the American left. A stone fence, with a stake fence in front, and with hay from the neighboring field thrust between, was used as a slight protection for the troops, while still farther a stone wall near the shore was hastily thrown together. Prescott commanded in the redoubt about eight hundred men; Captain Knowlton held the fence under Bunker Hill; Colonel Stark and Colonel Reed with their men filled in the spaces toward the shore; Dr. Warren, president of the Provincial Congress, and just appointed major-general, came to the redoubt with a musket, as did also the veteran of seventy years, Seth Pomeroy; Putnam, eager to help in any way, took his position at the fence. There were in all in the battle on the American side, about fourteen hundred men.

General Gates ordered out the flower of the British army for battle. They crossed in boats under General Howe, protected by the fire of the ships of war. The line of battle was formed with General Howe on the British right to advance against the wall, and General Pigot on the left to attack the redoubt. How many

soldiers there were in this first formation is not known. But with those who came across later the number of British troops who took part in the battle was about four thousand.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the advance began. The British troops in brilliant array marched boldly forward, as British troops can. The American yeoman, in shirt sleeves, behind the ramparts and walls, waited for them on that hot summer afternoon. They waited for them until they saw the whites of their eyes and recognized the men they had seen in Boston, until Prescott gave the word to fire. Then, with terrible carnage, they brought down so many of the enemy that the remainder turned and retired to the place where they formed. Now Charlestown was set on fire, and soon four hundred houses were burning. Again Howe formed his regulars in line, pushed the artillery forward, and advanced his men in valiant style. Again the result was the same, but with more bitter fighting. Clinton, from the Boston side, seeing the condition of affairs, came over with reënforcements. Now there was a longer pause, and there was hope that they would not advance again. But British pluck could not endure defeat. For the third time, with strengthened lines, they came on.

The American powder was well-nigh gone, and artillery cartridges had to be distributed. There had been but little powder in the whole army around Boston, and it had to be divided. This third time the Americans waited until the enemy were within twenty yards. The shock was dreadful, but that was the last. The enemy came over the corners of the redoubt. Stones were used against them, but these increased the enemy's hope. Prescott gave the word to retreat when powder really failed, and he and Warren were the last ones to leave the redoubt. Here Warren was shot down. The men at the wall, led by Stark, covered the retreat and retired slowly. Putnam tried to hold the men at the half-built defences on Bunker Hill proper, but ammunition had failed. All withdrew over the narrow neck, where a cannon on the other side, and reënforcements under Major Brooks, protected the retreating men. At five o'clock the British were in possession of Bunker Hill, after a loss of a thousand men. The Americans had twice driven back the British veterans, and with a loss of four hundred and fifty men had retired only when ammunition failed. In both of these orations on Bunker Hill, Webster tells in eloquent language of the glory and the consequences of the battle.

V

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

THE first monument on the hill was erected in 1794 to the memory of Dr. Joseph Warren, president of the Massachusetts Congress, and lately commissioned as major-general in the Continental Army at the time of the battle. A beautiful copy of this monument, made in marble, is now found within the Bunker Hill monument. The permanent monument was to have a nobler object, as Webster declares, with glowing eloquence in his orations, than the commemoration of the death of a martyr to the cause of liberty.

In 1824 certain citizens of Boston formed the Bunker Hill Monument Association, under the influence of William Tudor, Esq., who desired the erection of "the noblest monument in the world." The first president of the association was Governor John Brooks, the major that had been sent from the hill for reënforcements and supplies at the time of the battle. Daniel Webster, the second president, held the office at the time of the laying of the corner-stone.

The ceremony was planned for June 17, 1825, fifty years after the battle. The great procession of military, Masons, societies, and guests came over from Boston. General Lafayette was there to assist the Grand Master of Masons and Daniel Webster in laying the stone. Twenty thousand people covered the northern hillside before the speakers' stand, while just in front two hundred veterans of the Revolution, aged, wrinkled, some scarred from wounds, among them forty survivors of the battle, with General Lafayette in their midst, faced the orator. Rev. Mr. Thaxter, who on that spot fifty years before had prayed ere the battle began, now solemnly offered prayer, and Rev. John Pierpont read an ode. The day was bright and beautiful, a cool easterly breeze tempered the air, the scene was inspiring, when Daniel Webster stood before that great throng and delivered the first Bunker Hill address.

No real plan had been made to build the monument, and it was 1827 before the work began. Mr. Solomon Willard was the architect, and Mr. James S. Savage the builder. The fifty-five thousand dollars then on hand lasted but a short time. In 1834 more money was raised and the work continued. In 1840 a great fair was held by the ladies of Boston and of the coun-

try. Finally, the needed money was secured, and the capstone was placed upon the monument July 23, 1842.

The monument stands in the centre of a large square. The sides of the square are four hundred feet long, enclosing all the ground of the redoubt and the spot where Warren fell. From a solid foundation below the ground of six courses of stone, the monument rises eighty-four courses to the summit. The height of each course on the side is two feet eight inches. The apex is a single stone weighing two and a half tons. The monument is thirty feet square at the bottom, and about fifteen at the top, and it is two hundred and twenty-one feet high. At the entrance door the wall is six feet wide. A circular spiral staircase winds to the top, where there is a room seventeen feet high and eleven in diameter. Here a window looks to each point of the compass. The monument is built of Quincy granite.

The celebration of the completion of the monument was upon June 17, 1843. It was a remarkable pageant. More than one hundred thousand people gathered upon the sloping hillside. The President of the United States, members of his Cabinet, and thousands of descendants of New Eng-

land, from all parts of the country, were there. Again Daniel Webster, Secretary of State of the United States, was the orator of the day. A great work had been accomplished; a significant battle-field and the American Revolution had at last a worthy monument. The event found adequate and eloquent expression in Webster's address, *The Completion of the Bunker Hill Monument.*

VI

THE FAREWELL ADDRESS

When Washington's second term in the presidential office was drawing to a close, in September, 1796, he presented his *Farewell Address* to the people of the United States. He was not an author or literary man. Yet he had supplemented his limited education by careful reading. In his anxiety for the Union and the public policy he had acquired a sincere and stately style by a voluminous correspondence. He brought into his writing his whole character and purpose. Therefore, when he came to leave his office, it is not strange that his devotion to his country should enable him to express in noble

language and with stately eloquence the profound feelings of his heart. Lest the thought should not in all respects be worthy of the occasion, and the expression adequate to its correct representation, he consulted Hamilton and Madison upon its topics and language. An interlined and corrected manuscript, with rejected phrases, comes down to us from Washington's own hand.

The *Farewell Address* at once took hold of the hearts of the people. Each generation has regarded it with increasing veneration. In a book where we are studying Washington and Webster together, our respect for both will be increased by considering Webster's reference to the *Farewell Address* in his speech on the *Character of Washington,* delivered February 22, 1832, the centennial anniversary of Washington's birthday.

"The reiterated admonitions in his *Farewell Address* show his deep fears that foreign influence would insinuate itself into our councils through the channels of domestic dissension, and obtain a sympathy with our own temporary parties. Against all such dangers he most earnestly entreats the country to guard itself. He appeals to its patriotism, to its self-respect, to its own honor, to every consideration connected

with its welfare and happiness, to resist, at the very beginning, all tendencies towards such connection of foreign interests with our own affairs. With a tone of earnestness nowhere else found, even in his last affectionate farewell advice to his countrymen, he says, 'Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.'

. . . . . .

"Indeed, gentlemen, Washington's *Farewell Address* is full of truths important at all times, and particularly deserving consideration at the present. With a sagacity which brought the future before him, and made it like the present, he saw and pointed out the dangers that even at this moment most imminently threaten us. I hardly know how a greater service of that kind could now be done to the community than by a renewed and wide diffusion of that admirable paper, and an earnest invitation to every man in the country to reperuse and consider it. Its political maxims are invaluable; its exhortations to love of country and to brotherly affection among

citizens, touching; and the solemnity with which it urges the observance of moral duties, and impresses the power of religious obligation, gives to it the highest character of truly disinterested, sincere, parental advice."

The following topical analysis will show the nature and object of the address: —

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

SUBJECT: THE WELFARE OF THE COUNTRY

I. *Retirement from office.*
   1. Resolution not to be a candidate for reëlection.
   2. Resolution compatible with duty and gratitude.
   3. Step, desired four years before, prevented by critical condition of affairs.
   4. Determination to retire not now prevented by external or internal concerns.
   5. Retirement favored by personal considerations.
   6. Gratitude to the country for its support and prayer for its welfare.

II. *Scope of the address.*
   1. Sentiments offered for the country's review.
   2. Recommendation of love of liberty unnecessary.

III. *The unity of government.*
   1. Immense value of the national union.

2. Every inducement of sympathy leading to union.
3. Interest a more weighty consideration.
4. The North, South, East, and West dependent upon each other's productions and resources.
5. The strength of union preventing rivalling wars and military establishments.
6. Continuance of union demanded without fear of excessive size.

IV. *Dangers to the union.*

1. Sectional misrepresentation an expedient of party.
2. Alliances no substitute for established government.
3. Obstruction to the execution of laws a work of fatal tendency.
4. Associations directed by unprincipled men subversive of popular power.
5. The spirit of innovation on the principles of government.

V. *The spirit of party.*

1. Party spirit baneful.
2. Party spirit natural and rankest in popular government.
3. The frightful despotism of party.
4. The restraint of party spirit.
5. Public administration enfeebled by party.
6. Spirit of liberty carried too far by party spirit.

VI. *Elements of strength and security.*

1. No encroachment of one department of government upon another.
2. Religion and morality indispensable supports.

1. Desire that the unintentional errors of administration be forgotten.
2. Pleasing expectation of remaining years under a free government.

VII

THE FIRST BUNKER HILL ORATION

This is a work of art, a great masterpiece of literature. As to know the Sistine Madonna one must stand before that matchless work of Raphael and look and look until the divine faces become fastened in his soul forever, so one must read and reread with sympathetic voice this oration, the greatest long occasional address of all time, if he would really appreciate it. But after all, the art of the orator is the most evanescent of all the arts. The work of the painter remains as it came from his brush, except as the hand of time changes it. The great dramatic poet writes his immortal thoughts for the actor, and a new actor may arise who can interpret them with greater power than they were ever grasped before. The occasion, the audience, the personality of the orator, all make the eloquence, and they cannot be reproduced. Yet with the help of the imagination

their place can be somewhat supplied, and the work can be made real again.

After careful study has brought before the mind the man, the time, the place, and the occasion of this oration, and the oration has been read under their light, its naturalness and spontaneity will be apparent at once. The vast audience, the laying of the corner-stone of a wonderful structure, the spot hallowed by the dead, the presence of the aged heroes and Lafayette, the fateful battle fought on the hill, — all naturally claim recognition, and in felicitous phrase the recognition is given. But that is not enough; some noble thought suggested by the event commemorated, that vies in loftiness of sentiment with the glory of the battle, is needed to satisfy the expectation of the occasion. Thus a natural unity is given to the address. With wonderful skill the parts are made to glide into each other in a natural way, but still so as to bring a pleasing variety. While occasional addresses allow greater freedom in subject than argumentative orations from the nature of their purpose, this oration excels in its well-defined unity.

Since this oration is a masterpiece, it would be well, instead of judging Webster's style by rules of rhetoric and composition, to learn from a

study of the work what good style in oratory is. Whatever he may have felt about the use of Saxon words, it is evident that he uses with great power both Saxon and Latin words, each in its appropriate place, according to the thought he wishes to express. He discriminates carefully in their meanings and use. He is so clear in his words and the expression of his thought that the unlettered man can readily grasp his meaning. Words and sentences and paragraphs are marshalled in such a way as to appeal to the mind with the greatest power. In addition, the oration, rolling on in grand cadence that may be called Websterian, rises through clearness and force into that highest style which fills the soul with delight, the style that many call beautiful, but here might often be called noble or sublime.

If an oration moves the heart, we say it is eloquent. It is hard to define eloquence, but perhaps no one has given a better definition than Webster in another of his occasional orations, that on *Adams and Jefferson*, delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, on the 2d of August, 1826, in the celebrated passage: "When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech

farther than as it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness, force, and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire to it; they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreaking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless

spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, in forming every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object — this, this is eloquence; or rather it is something greater and higher than all eloquence, it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action."

The unity of the oration may be more readily studied by aid of the following analysis: —

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

Subject: The Bunker Hill Monument, a Memorial of National Independence

I. *The deep feeling of the occasion.*
1. The uncounted multitude, a proof of the feeling.
2. The place, worthy of emotion.
3. Personal interest in the discovery of this continent.
4. Greater interest in the settlement of our own country.
5. Greatest interest in the American Revolution.

II. *The monument itself.*
1. Its auspicious beginning.
2. Its consecration to the spirit of national independence.

III. *The fifty years since the battle.*
1. Extraordinary events in this country.
2. Europe's mighty revolution and separation from the new nations of this continent.

3. Change of the whole world.
4. Presence of men of 1775, the survivors of fifty years.

IV. *Address to the survivors.*

1. Address to the venerable men of Bunker Hill — war changed to peace.
2. The departed heroes.
3. Apostrophe to Warren.
4. Sympathy with other revolutionary soldiers.
5. Address to veterans of all the battles.
6. Overwhelming joy in their service to mankind.

V. *Immediate causes and results of the battle.*

1. The country incited to common effort and common sacrifice by the altering of the government of the province and the shutting up of the port of Boston.
2. Lexington and Concord, the occasion of action.
3. Four colonies together in arms on the 17th of June.
4. The result of the battle, open war sustained by able appeal.
5. Proof of the devotion of the colonies to their cause.
6. Fame of the battle conveyed to Lafayette.

VI. *Address to Lafayette.*

1. Solemn welcome.
2. Fortunate, extraordinary life, cherished by two generations.
3. Hope for long delay of merited eulogy.

VII *Leading reflection, the great changes in fifty years.*

1. A common progress of the nations.
2. A community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations.

VIII

THE SECOND BUNKER HILL ORATION

EIGHTEEN years after the laying of the corner-stone at Bunker Hill, Webster stood upon the same place to deliver again an occasional address. A few feeble veterans of the Revolution took the place of the gallant band of venerable survivors of 1825, and Lafayette, the great friend of America, slept in his native land. But a completed monument, lifting its head to the sky before the orator, gave a new subject of thought. It raised his speech to the highest eloquence, it filled his vision with the glories of popular government, and to offset the personal appeal to the martyred Warren and the venerated Lafayette, it became to Webster's glowing imagination the emblem of the colossal grandeur of the character of Washington.

It is well to study the characteristics of Webster's imagination. It was masterful and grand. The great movements of mankind he saw in their large proportions. The past, the present, and the future were in his thoughts as one mighty stream. His was

not a mind to study and burrow into the details. His intellect was massive. This oration furnishes a good opportunity to study the broadness and power of Webster's genius.

In clearness, force, and beauty of style this oration resembles the other. It has a similar gracious and pleasing beginning. Like the other, it soon secures the greatest interest and arouses the deepest feelings of patriotism. It maintains the interest likewise by bringing before the mind the noblest subjects for consideration, the strongest persuasion to satisfaction in the country's government and heritage. When at last, in enumerating the gifts of America to the world, the climax is reached, it ends as the first oration, with an impassioned appeal to duty.

The following is a topical analysis of this oration:

THE COMPLETION OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

Subject: The Message of the Monument, — Popular Government, its Elements and its Fruits

I. *The occasion.*
   1. A duty performed.
   2. The work of eighteen years.

3. The aid of the Mechanic Association.
4. The contribution of the mothers and daughters of the land.
5. The honored dead of those with whom the plan originated.
6. A prominent living projector of the design of the monument.
7. Revolutionary characters present in 1825 and now.
8. The affectionate gratitude of the country for these aged patriots.

II. *The monument.*
1. The voice of the finished monument.
2. The object of some ancient monuments lost.
3. The permanent endurance of the purpose of this monument.

III. *The greeting.*
1. The presence of the Chief Executive of the Union.
2. Distinguished guests.
3. The absence of John Quincy Adams.
4. The presence of natives of New England from other states.
5. Interest of every American citizen present or absent.
6. This column standing on union.

IV. *The claim of the battle of Bunker Hill to attention.*
1. Extraordinary circumstances attending the battle.
2. No just military motive for the engagement.
3. Desire for a decisive trial of strength.
4. History of the battle familiar
5. The contest of the Revolution determined by the battle

6. The consequences of the same importance as the Revolution.
7. The battle, an event to be celebrated.

V. *The origin and development of the principle of the American Revolution and of the American system of government.*

1. The origin two centuries back in English and American history.
2. Progress in knowledge, favorable to civil liberty, in England from Henry VII to the civil wars.
3. The religious influence and the commercial spirit.
4. New England peopled by the religious motive.
5. Differences of Virginia and New England blended in the Union.
6. The colonization by Spain and Portugal induced by love of gold.
7. The military settlers of Spanish America.
8. Contrast between the freedom of English colonists and Spanish force.
9. The different results of the two principles in material progress and growth.
10. Necessary consideration of results in social and moral progress.
11. Spanish military republics without freedom.
12. Picture of the result in South America.
13. Picture of the present scene under liberty.
14. Spanish colonies subject to sovereign authority.
15. English colonists independent, educated, equal, religious.

16. English colonists cultivated in English literature.
17. Free political institutions.
18. Great elements of American system of government

VI. *Influence of the New World upon the Old.*

1. Statement of topic.
2. Acknowledgment of obligations to Europe.
3. America's part in the advancement of human interests.
4. The products of America.
5. The augmentation of the commerce of the world.
6. Moral and political influences.
7. Proof of the strength of popular governments.
8. Elevation of the mass of mankind by education.
9. The gift of the character of Washington.
10. Washington, the most sublime character.
11. The monument an emblem of Washington, the American citizen.
12. Washington, America's source of courage and consolation.

VII. *Conclusion: The true glory of an American.*

1. Statement of close of discourse.
2. Our moral obligations.

IX

THE PREPARATION OF THE LESSON

BEFORE the intensive study of the letter or oration begins, the work should be read through. In the

case of an oration it should be read aloud, that the persuasive art of the orator may be clearly evident, and the full purpose of his work be understood. As the study proceeds, it would be well for the pupil to commit large portions of the oration to memory. At the proper time, when the study is nearly completed, the delivery of the whole oration by the best declaimers of the class, to whom appropriate portions have been assigned, will be attended with excellent results.

The lesson assigned for a particular day will usually be one of the main divisions of the oration, or when that is too long a section of the division, which is as nearly as possible a unit in itself.

The first point of study will be the relation of this division to the rest of the oration, and its place and importance in the structure of the whole. A topical analysis of the oration that brings before the eyes the order of thought in a compact form will greatly facilitate this study. The reasons for the length, character, and style of the section under discussion, as determined by other parts of the work, should be clearly seen.

The next step will be the study of the paragraphs, of which the section is composed. Their order,

significance, and structure as determined by the line of thought of the section should be accurately observed. If the section is too long for all the paragraphs to be studied by every pupil, each paragraph should be studied in all its details by some pupil, and a careful criticism be given to the class. This study should include a consideration of the first sentence and the last, the sentence that contains the climax, the relation of sentence to sentence, and the necessity of every sentence to the chain of thought.

The form of the sentences should be considered as well as the sequence of thought. Force and beauty of style must be explained as well as clearness. The effect in such an author as Webster of periodic or loose, of balanced, of long or short sentences, should be carefully examined.

But the making of the paragraphs and the form of the sentences are not more important than the choice of words. The vocabularly of Webster is especially deserving of study. Not only should the origin of the words, their familiarity and purity, be considered, but also their appropriateness in the expression of the thought and their euphony in the eloquence of the oration.

When the logical study of a paragraph has been

completed, it would be well for the pupil to write in one comprehensive sentence the essential thought of which the paragraph is a development.

Finally, the literary and historical allusions, as far as a knowledge of them is necessary to an understanding of the passage, should be studied. Care should be taken not to overdo this matter, for while it is interesting and profitable to read many books about the author, the occasion of the oration, and the scenes connected with it, and while such books often throw much light upon the meaning, it is the main work of the student to master by persistent thought and study the oration itself.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

GEORGE WASHINGTON

1732 . . . Born in Virginia.
1748 . . . Surveyor.
1751 . . . Visited the West Indies.
1755 . . . With General Braddock at Fort Duquesne.
1758 . . . Married Martha Custis.
1775 . . . Commander-in-chief of the army.
1781 . . . Captured Cornwallis.
1787 . . . President of the Constitutional Convention.
1789 . . . President of the United States.
1796 . . . *Farewell Address.*
1799 . . . Death at Mount Vernon.

DANIEL WEBSTER

1782 . . . Born in Salisbury, New Hampshire.
1796 . . . Pupil at Phillips Exeter Academy.
1797 . . . Student at Dartmouth College.
1807 . . . Lawyer in Portsmouth.
1813 . . . Representative in Congress from New Hampshire.
1816 . . . Lawyer in Boston.
1818 . . . *Dartmouth College Case.*
1820 . . . *The First Settlement of New England.*
1822 . . . Representative in Congress from Massachusetts.
1824 . . . *The Greek Revolution.*

1825 . . . *The Bunker Hill Monument.*
1826 . . . *Adams and Jefferson.*
1827 . . . Senator from Massachusetts.
1830 . . . *Reply to Hayne.*
1830 . . . *The White Murder Case.*
1832 . . . *The Character of Washington.*
1833 . . . *The Constitution not a Compact.*
1834 . . . *The President's Protest.*
1841 . . . Secretary of State.
1843 . . . *The Completion of the Monument.*
1845 . . . Senator from Massachusetts.
1850 . . . *Seventh of March Speech.*
1850 . . . Secretary of State.
1851 . . . *The Addition to the Capitol.*
1852 . . . Death at Marshfield.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived,° when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for

your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election,° had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations,° and the unanimous advice of persons° entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions, with which I first undertook the

arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have, with good intentions, contributed toward the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious,° in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years° admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting

my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging, in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism, the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guaranty of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the

applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occa ion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.°

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that

very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium° of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion, that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which be-

longs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and, while it con-

tributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource,

proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same governments, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere°? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope

that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions,° will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall° not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in

the negotation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain,° and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain° and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay,° by the adoption of a constitution° of govern-

ment better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations,° under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of

this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put, in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of fashion, rather than the organs of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pre-

texts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations, which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of par-

ties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continued mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion, that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true, and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is cer

tain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution, in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern, some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them

must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality

can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who, that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is, to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertion in time of peace to discharge

the debts, which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should coöperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be, that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by

an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded°; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation,

prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or de-

luded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it.

Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period

is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable

establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no

greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But, if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe,

my proclamation° of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index of my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in

which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

UNITED STATES, 19th September, 1796.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

This uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775,

would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But° we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America° stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleep-

ing; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England.° We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can never be without interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth,° while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony° forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it. No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead

the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The Society° whose organ I am was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking, than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, spring-

ing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principals of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason

only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it for ever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must for ever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may

look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden him who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.°

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries, are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own Revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occa-

sion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent States° erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not for the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve,° the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become° the fellow-citizens and neighbors° of those who cultivate the hills of New England. We have a commerce that leaves no sea unexplored; navies, which take no law from superior force; revenues, adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.°

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution,° which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones° which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed, and colonies have

sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government° have reached us from beyond the track of the sun; and at this moment the dominion of European power° in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated for ever.

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here, from every quarter of New England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

VENERABLE MEN!° you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously length-

ened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered! The same heavens are indeed over your heads; the same ocean rolls at your feet; but all else how changed! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewed with the dead and the dying; the impetuous charge; the steady and successful repulse; the loud call to repeated assault; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death; — all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis,° its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships,° by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming

fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and defence. All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!°

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Reed, Pomeroy, Bridge°! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

"another morn,
Risen on mid-noon°;"

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

But, ah! Him°! the first great martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit! Him! cut off by Providence in the hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage! — how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name°! Our poor work may perish; but thine shall endure! This monument may moulder away; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea; but thy memory shall not fail! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit.

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to

rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

VETERANS! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth,° from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY! when in your youthful days you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once

more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind!

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle° of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government° of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures

everywhere produced in America. It had been anticipated, that while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest,° no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem.° Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province

greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress,° then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts° responded to these assurances; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared, that this Colony "is ready, at

all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord° had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined,

> "totamque infusa per artus
> Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."°

War on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The ordinary occupations of life were abandoned: the plough was stayed in the unfinished furrow; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of the civil war. Death might come in honor, on the field; it might come in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy° was full in their

nearts. "Blandishments," said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, "will not fascinate us. nor will threats of a halter intimidate; for, under God, we are determined, that, wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever, we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men."

The 17th of June saw the four° New England Colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them for ever, one cause, one country, one heart.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out, till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public

cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will for ever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me.° He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the estab-

lishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which

the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McClary, Moore,° and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours for ever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give them this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln.° We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. "*Serus in cœlum redeas.*"° Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, O, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field

for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the world will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country; every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow-workers on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true

when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half-century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and

the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars° of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human socity. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent, from unfortunate but natural causes. it received an irregular and violent impulse; it whirled along with a fearful celerity; till at length, like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.°

We learn from the result of this experiment, how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably

the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our Colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the master-work of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power; all its ends become means; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis the Fourteenth° said, "I am the state," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects, it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust,° and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun

in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions: —

"Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
Give me TO SEE, — and Ajax asks no more."

We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a government for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this

truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks° has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force, and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it. It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency can-

not extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half-century, we must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America°; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence; they are known and acknowledged in the world; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provision for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between

free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations.

A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the civilized world. The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

And now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our

country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the representative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of man-

kind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed, that in our country any other is impossible. The principle of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon,° and Alfred, and other founders of states.

Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States° are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration for ever!

THE COMPLETION OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

A DUTY has been performed. A work of gratitude and patriotism is completed. This structure, having its foundations in soil which drank deep of early Revolutionary blood, has at length reached its destined height, and now lifts its summit to the skies.

We have assembled to celebrate the accomplishment of this undertaking, and to indulge afresh in the recollection of the great event which it is designed to commemorate. Eighteen years, more than half the ordinary duration of a generation of mankind, have elapsed since the corner-stone of this monument was laid. The hopes of its projectors rested on voluntary contributions, private munificence, and the general favor of the public. These hopes have not been disappointed. Donations have been made by individuals, in some cases of large amount, and smaller sums have been contributed by thousands. All who regard the object itself as important, and its

accomplishment, therefore, as a good attained, will entertain sincere respect and gratitude for the unwearied efforts of the successive presidents, boards of directors, and committees of the Association which has had the general control of the work. The architect, equally entitled to our thanks and commendation, will find other reward, also, for his labor and skill, in the beauty and elegance of the obelisk itself, and the distinction which, as a work of art, it confers upon him.

At a period when the prospects of further progress in the undertaking were gloomy and discouraging, the Mechanic Association, by a most praiseworthy and vigorous effort, raised new funds for carrying it forward, and saw them applied with fidelity, economy, and skill. It is a grateful duty to make public acknowledgments of such timely and efficient aid.

The last effort and the last contribution were from a different source. Garlands of grace and elegance were destined to crown a work which had its commencement in manly patriotism. The winning power of the sex addressed itself to the public, and all that was needed to carry the monument to its proposed height, and to give to it its finish, was promptly supplied. The mothers° and the daughters

of the land contributed thus, most successfully, to whatever there is of beauty in the monument itself or whatever of utility and public benefit and gratification there is in its completion.

Of those with whom the plan originated, of erecting on this spot a monument worthy of the event to be commemorated, many are now present; but others, alas! have themselves become subjects of monumental inscription. William Tudor,° an accomplished scholar, a distinguished writer, a most amiable man, allied both by birth and sentiment to the patriots of the Revolution, died while on public service abroad, and now lies buried in a foreign land. William Sullivan,° a name fragrant of Revolutionary merit, and of public service and public virtue, who himself partook in a high degree of the respect and confidence of the community, and yet was always most loved where best known, has also been gathered to his fathers. And last, George Blake,° a lawyer of learning and eloquence, a man of wit and of talent, of social qualities the most agreeable and fascinating, and of gifts which enabled him to exercise large sway over public assemblies, has closed his human career. I know that in the crowds before me there are those from whose eyes tears will flow at the mention of

these names. But such mention is due to their general character, their public and private virtues, and especially, on this occasion, to the spirit and zeal with which they entered into the undertaking which is now completed.

I have spoken only of those who are no longer numbered with the living. But a long life, now drawing towards its close, always distinguished by acts of public spirit, humanity, and charity, forming a character which has already become historical, and sanctified by public regard and the affection of friends, may confer even on the living the proper immunity of the dead, and be the fit subject of honorable mention and warm commendation. Of the early projectors of the design of this monument, one of the most prominent, the most zealous, and the most efficient, is Thomas H. Perkins.° It was beneath his ever hospitable roof that those whom I have mentioned, and others yet living and now present, having assembled for the purpose, adopted the first step towards erecting a monument on Bunker Hill. Long may he remain, with unimpaired faculties, in the wide field of his usefulness! His charities have distilled like the dews of heaven; he has fed the hungry, and clothed the naked; he

has given sight to the blind; and for such virtues there is a reward on high of which all human memorials, all language of brass and stone, are but humble types and attempted imitations.

Time and nature have had their course, in diminishing the number of those whom we met here on the 17th of June, 1825. Most of the Revolutionary characters then present have since deceased; and Lafayette° sleeps in his native land. Yet the name and blood of Warren are with us; the kindred of Putnam are also here; and near me, universally beloved for his character and his virtues, and now venerable for his years, sits the son° of the noble-hearted and daring Prescott. Gideon Foster of Danvers, Enos Reynolds of Boxford, Phineas Johnson, Robert Andrews, Elijah Dresser, Josiah Cleaveland, Jesse Smith, Philip Bagley, Needham Maynard, Roger Plaisted, Joseph Stephens, Nehemiah Porter, and James Harvey, who bore arms for their country, either at Concord and Lexington, on the 19th of April, or on Bunker Hill, all now far advanced in age, have come here to-day to look once more on the field where their valor was proved, and to receive a hearty outpouring of our respect.

They have long outlived the troubles and dangers

of the Revolution; they have outlived the evils arising from the want of a united and efficient government; they have outlived the menace of imminent dangers to the public liberty; they have outlived nearly all their contemporaries: but they have not outlived, they cannot outlive, the affectionate gratitude of their country. Heaven has not allotted to this generation an opportunity of rendering high services, and manifesting strong personal devotion, such as they rendered and manifested, and in such a cause as that which roused the patriotic fires of their youthful breasts, and nerved the strength of their arms. But we may praise what we cannot equal, and celebrate actions which we were not born to perform. *Pulchrum est benefacere reipublicæ; etiam benedicere haud absurdum est.*°

The Bunker Hill Monument is finished. Here it stands. Fortunate in the high natural eminence on which it is placed, higher, infinitely higher in its objects and purpose, it rises over the land and over the sea; and, visible, at their homes, to three hundred thousand of the people of Massachusetts, it stands a memorial of the last, and a monitor to the present, and to all succeeding generations. I have spoken of the loftiness of its purpose. If it had been

without any other design than the creation of a work of art, the granite of which it is composed would have slept in its native bed. It has a purpose, and that purpose gives it its character. That purpose enrobes it with dignity and moral grandeur. That well-known purpose it is which causes us to look up to it with a feeling of awe. It is itself the orator of this occasion. It is not from my lips, it could not be from any human lips, that that strain of eloquence is this day to flow most competent to move and excite the vast multitudes around me. The powerful speaker stands motionless before us.° It is a plain shaft. It bears no inscriptions, fronting to the rising sun, from which the future antiquary shall wipe the dust. Nor does the rising sun cause tones of music ° to issue from its summit. But at the rising of the sun, and at the setting of the sun; in the blaze of noonday, and beneath the milder effulgence of lunar light; it looks, it speaks, it acts, to the full comprehension of every American mind, and the awakening of glowing enthusiasm in every American heart. Its silent, but awful utterance; its deep pathos, as it brings to our contemplation the 17th of June, 1775, and the consequences which have resulted to us, to our country, and to the world,

from the events of that day, and which we know must continue to rain influence on the destinies of mankind to the end of time; the elevation with which it raises us high above the ordinary feelings of life, surpass all that the study of the closet, or even the inspiration of genius, can produce. To-day it speaks to us. Its future auditories will be the successive generations of men, as they rise up before it and gather around it. Its speech will be of patriotism and courage; of civil and religious liberty; of free government; of the moral improvement and elevation of mankind; and of the immortal memory of those who, with heroic devotion, have sacrificed their lives for their country.

In the older world, numerous fabrics still exist, reared by human hands, but whose object has been lost in the darkness of ages. They are now monuments of nothing but the labor and skill which constructed them.

The mighty pyramid itself, half buried in the sands of Africa, has nothing to bring down and report to us, but the power of kings and the servitude of the people. If it had any purpose beyond that of a mausoleum, such purpose has perished from history and from tradition. If asked for its moral object,

its admonition, its sentiment, its instruction to mankind, or any high end in its erection, it is silent; silent as the millions which lie in the dust at its base and in the catacombs which surround it. Without a just moral object, therefore, made known to man, though raised against the skies, it excites only conviction of power, mixed with strange wonder. But if the civilization of the present race of men, founded, as it is, in solid science, the true knowledge of nature, and vast discoveries in art, and which is elevated and purified by moral sentiment and by the truths of Christianity, be not destined to destruction before the final termination of human existence on earth, the object and purpose of this edifice will be known till that hour shall come. And even if civilization should be subverted, and the truths of the Christian religion obscured by a new deluge of barbarism, the memory of Bunker Hill and the American Revolution will still be elements and parts of the knowledge which shall be possessed by the last man to whom the light of civilization and Christianity shall be extended.

This celebration is honored by the presence of the chief executive magistrate° of the Union. An occasion so national in its object and character, and so much connected with that Revolution from which

the government sprang at the head of which he is placed, may well receive from him this mark of attention and respect. Well acquainted with Yorktown,° the scene of the last great military struggle of the Revolution, his eye now surveys the field of Bunker Hill, the theatre of the first of those important conflicts. He sees where Warren fell, where Putnam, and Prescott, and Stark, and Knowlton,° and Brooks fought. He beholds the spot where a thousand trained soldiers of England were smitten to the earth, in the first effort of revolutionary war, by the arm of a bold and determined yeomanry, contending for liberty and their country. And while all assembled here entertain towards him sincere personal good wishes and the high respect due to his elevated office and station, it is not to be doubted that he enters, with true American feeling, into the patriotic enthusiasm kindled by the occasion which animates the multitudes that surround him.

His Excellency the Governor° of the Commonwealth, the Governor of Rhode Island,° and the other distinguished public men whom we have the honor to receive as visitors and guests to-day, will cordially unite in a celebration connected with the great event of the Revolutionary War.

No name in the history of 1775 and 1776 is more distinguished than that borne by an ex-president° of the United States, whom we expected to see here, but whose ill health prevents his attendance. Whenever popular rights were to be asserted, an Adams was present; and when the time came for the formal Declaration of Independence, it was the voice of an Adams° that shook the halls of Congress. We wish we could have welcomed to us this day the inheritor of Revolutionary blood, and the just and worthy representative of high Revolutionary names, merit, and services.

Banners and badges, processions and flags, announce to us that amidst this uncounted throng are thousands of natives of New England now residents in other States. Welcome, ye kindred names, with kindred blood! From the broad savannas of the South, from the newer regions of the West, from amidst the hundreds of thousands of men of Eastern origin who cultivate the rich valley of the Genesee, or live along the chain of the Lakes, from the mountains of Pennsylvania, and from the thronged cities of the coast, welcome, welcome! Wherever else you may be strangers, here you are all at home. You assemble at this shrine of liberty, near the family

altars at which your earliest devotions were paid to Heaven; near to the temples of worship first entered by you, and near to the schools and colleges in which your education was received. You come hither with a glorious ancestry of liberty. You bring names which are on the rolls of Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. You come, some of you, once more to be embraced by an aged Revolutionary father, or to receive another, perhaps a last, blessing, bestowed in love and tears, by a mother, yet surviving to witness and to enjoy your prosperity and happiness.

But if family associations and the recollections of the past bring you hither with greater alacrity, and mingle with your greeting much of local attachment and private affection, greeting also be given, free and hearty greeting, to every American citizen who treads this sacred soil with patriotic feeling, and respires with pleasure in an atmosphere perfumed with the recollections of 1775! This occasion is respectable,° nay, it is grand, it is sublime, by the nationality of its sentiment. Among the seventeen millions of happy people who form the American community, there is not one who has not an interest in this monument, as there is not one that has not a deep and abiding interest in that which it commemorates.

Woe betide the man who brings to this day's worship feeling less than wholly American! Woe betide the man who can stand here with the fires of local resentments burning, or the purpose of fomenting local jealousies and the strifes of local interests festering and rankling in his heart! Union, established in justice, in patriotism, and the most plain and obvious common interest, — union, founded on the same love of liberty, cemented by blood shed in the same common cause, — union has been the source of all our glory and greatness thus far, and is the ground of all our highest hopes. This column stands on Union. I know not that it might not keep its position, if the American Union, in the mad conflict of human passions, and in the strife of parties and factions, should be broken up and destroyed. I know not that it would totter and fall to the earth, and mingle its fragments with the fragments of Liberty and the Constitution, when State should be separated from State, and faction and dismemberment obliterate for ever all the hopes of the founders of our republic and the great inheritance of their children. It might stand. But who, from beneath the weight of mortification and shame that would oppress him, could look up to behold it? Whose

eyeballs would not be seared by such a spectacle? For my part, should I live to such a time, I shall avert my eyes from it for ever.

It is not as a mere military encounter of hostile armies, that the battle of Bunker Hill presents its principal claim to attention. Yet, even as a mere battle, there were circumstances attending it extraordinary in character, and entitling it to peculiar distinction. It was fought on this eminence; in the neighborhood of yonder city; in the presence of many more spectators than there were combatants in the conflict. Men, women, and children, from every commanding position, were gazing at the battle, and looking for its results with all the eagerness natural to those who knew that the issue was fraught with the deepest consequences to themselves, personally, as well as to their country. Yet, on the 16th of June, 1775, there was nothing around this hill but verdure and culture. There was, indeed, the note of awful preparation in Boston. There was the Provincial army at Cambridge, with its right flank resting on Dorchester, and its left on Chelsea. But here all was peace. Tranquillity reigned around. On the 17th, everything was changed. On this eminence had arisen, in the night, a redoubt, built

by Prescott, and in which he held command. Perceived by the enemy at dawn, it was immediately cannonaded from the floating batteries in the river, and from the opposite shore. And then ensued the hurried movement in Boston, and soon the troops of Britain embarked in the attempt to dislodge the Colonists. In an hour everything indicated an immediate and bloody conflict. Love of liberty on one side, proud defiance of rebellion on the other, hopes and fears, and courage and daring, on both sides, animated the hearts of the combatants as they hung on the edge of battle.

I suppose it would be difficult, in a military point of view, to ascribe to the leaders on either side any just motive for the engagement which followed. On the one hand, it could not have been very important to the Americans to attempt to hem the British within the town, by advancing one single post a quarter of a mile; while, on the other hand, if the British found it essential to dislodge the American troops, they had it in their power at no expense of life. By moving up their ships and batteries, they could have completely cut off all communication with the mainland over the Neck, and the forces in the redoubt would have been reduced to a state of famine in forty-eight hours.

But that was not the day for any such consideration on either side! Both parties were anxious to try the strength of their arms. The pride of England would not permit the rebels, as she termed them, to defy her to the teeth; and, without for a moment calculating the cost, the British general determined to destroy the fort immediately. On the other side, Prescott and his gallant followers longed and thirsted for a decisive trial of strength and of courage. They wished a battle, and wished it at once. And this is the true secret of the movements on this hill.

I will not attempt to describe that battle. The cannonading; the landing of the British; their advance; the coolness with which the charge was met; the repulse; the second attack; the second repulse; the burning of Charlestown; and, finally, the closing assault and the slow retreat of the Americans, — the history of all these is familiar.

But the consequences of the battle of Bunker Hill were greater than those of any ordinary conflict, although between armies of far greater force, and terminating with more immediate advantage on the one side or the other. It was the first great battle of the Revolution; and not only the first blow, but the blow which determined the contest It did not,

indeed, put an end to the war, but, in the then existing hostile state of feeling, the difficulties could only be referred to the arbitration of the sword. And one thing is certain; that, after the New-England troops had shown themselves able to face and repulse the regulars, it was decided that peace never could be established, but upon the basis of the independence of the Colonies. When the sun of that day went down, the event of independence was no longer doubtful. In a few days Washington heard of the battle, and he inquired if the militia had stood the fire of the regulars. When told that they had not only stood that fire, but reserved their own till the enemy was within eight rods, and then poured it in with tremendous effect, "Then," exclaimed he, "the liberties of the country are safe!"

The consequences of this battle were just of the same importance as the Revolution itself.

If there was nothing of value in the principles of the American Revolution, then there is nothing valuable in the battle of Bunker Hill and its consequences. But if the Revolution was an era in the history of man favorable to human happiness, if it was an event which marked the progress of man all over the world from despotism to liberty, then this monument

is not raised without cause. Then the battle of Bunker Hill is not an event undeserving celebrations, commemorations, and rejoicings, now and in all coming times.

What, then, is the true and peculiar principle of the American Revolution, and of the systems of government which it has confirmed and established? The truth is, that the American Revolution was not caused by the instantaneous discovery of principles of government before unheard of, or the practical adoption of political ideas such as had never before entered into the minds of men. It was but the full development of principles of government, forms of society, and political sentiments, the origin of all which lay back two centuries in English and American history.

The discovery of America, its colonization by the nations of Europe, the history and progress of the colonies, from their establishment to the time when the principal of them threw off their allegiance to the respective states by which they had been planted, and founded governments of their own, constitute one of the most interesting portions of the annals of man. These events occupied three hundred years; during which period civilization and knowledge made

steady progress in the Old World; so that Europe, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, had become greatly changed from that Europe which began the colonization of America at the close of the fifteenth, or the commencement of the sixteenth. And what is most material to my present purpose is, that in the progress of the first of these centuries, that is to say, from the discovery of America to the settlements° of Virginia and Massachusetts, political and religious events took place which most materially affected the state of society and the sentiments of mankind, especially in England and in parts of Continental Europe. After a few feeble and unsuccessful efforts by England, under Henry the Seventh,° to plant colonies in America, no designs of that kind were prosecuted for a long period, either by the English Government or any of its subjects. Without inquiring into the causes of this delay, its consequences are sufficiently clear and striking. England, in this lapse of a century, unknown to herself, but under the providence of God and the influence of events, was fitting herself for the work of colonizing North America, on such principles and by such men, as should spread the English name and English blood, in time, over a great portion of the Western hemi-

sphere. The commercial spirit was greatly fostered by several laws passed in the reign of Henry the Seventh; and in the same reign encouragement was given to arts and manufactures in the eastern counties, and some not unimportant modifications of the feudal system took place by allowing the breaking of entails. These and other measures, and other occurrences, were making way for a new class of society to emerge, and show itself, in a military and feudal age; a middle class, between the barons or great landholders and the retainers of the crown on the one side, and the tenants of the crown and barons, and agricultural and other laborers, on the other side. With the rise and growth of this new class of society, not only did commerce and the arts increase, but better education, a greater degree of knowledge, juster notions of the true ends of government, and sentiments favorable to civil liberty, began to spread abroad, and become more and more common. But the plants springing from these seeds were of slow growth. The character of English society had indeed begun to undergo a change; but changes of national character are ordinarily the work of time. Operative causes were, however, evidently in existence, and sure to produce, ultimately, their proper effect. From

the accession of Henry the Seventh to the breaking out of the civil wars,° England enjoyed much greater exemption from war, foreign and domestic, than for a long period before, and during the controversy between the houses of York and Lancaster.° These years of peace were favorable to commerce and the arts. Commerce and the arts augmented general and individual knowledge; and knowledge is the only fountain, both of the love and the principles of human liberty.

Other powerful causes soon came into active play. The Reformation of Luther° broke out, kindling up the minds of men afresh, leading to new habits of thought, and awakening in individuals energies before unknown even to themselves. The religious controversies of this period changed society as well as religion; indeed, it would be easy to prove, if this occasion were proper for it, that they changed society to a considerable extent, where they did not change the religion of the state. They changed man himself, in his modes of thought, his consciousness of his own powers, and his desire of intellectual attainment. The spirit of commercial and foreign adventure, therefore, on the one hand, which had gained so much strength and influence since the time of the discovery

of America, and, on the other, the assertion and maintenance of religious liberty, having their source indeed in the Reformation, but continued, diversified, and constantly strengthened by the subsequent divisions of sentiment and opinion among the Reformers themselves, and this love of religious liberty, drawing after it or bringing along with it, as it always does, an ardent devotion to the principle of civil liberty also, were the powerful influences under which character was formed, and men trained, for the great work of introducing English civilization, English law, and, what is more than all, Anglo-Saxon blood, into the wilderness of North America. Raleigh° and his companions may be considered as the creatures, principally, of the first of these causes. High-spirited, full of the love of personal adventure, excited, too, in some degree, by the hopes of sudden riches from the discovery of mines of the precious metals, and not unwilling to diversify the labors of settling a colony with occasional cruising against the Spaniards in the West Indian seas, they crossed and recrossed the ocean, with a frequency which surprises us when we consider the state of navigation, and which evinces a most daring spirit.

The other cause peopled New England. The May-

flower sought our shores under no high-wrought spirit of commercial adventure, no love of gold, no mixture of purpose warlike or hostile to any human being. Like the dove from the ark, she had put forth only to find rest. Solemn supplications on the shore of the sea, in Holland, had invoked for her, at her departure, the blessings of Providence. The stars which guided her were the unobscured constellations of civil and religious liberty. Her deck was the altar of the living God. Fervent prayers on bended knees, mingled, morning and evening, with the voices of ocean and the sighing of the wind in her shrouds. Every prosperous breeze, which, gently swelling her sails, helped the Pilgrims° onward in their course, awoke new anthems of praise; and when the elements were wrought into fury, neither the tempest, tossing their fragile bark like a feather, nor the darkness and howling of the midnight storm, ever disturbed, in man or woman, the firm and settled purpose of their souls, to undergo all, and to do all, that the meekest patience, the boldest resolution, and the highest trust in God could enable human beings to suffer or to perform.

Some differences may, doubtless, be traced at this day between the descendants of the early colonists

of Virginia and those of New England, owing to the different influences and different circumstances under which the respective settlements were made; but only enough to create a pleasing variety in the midst of a general family resemblance.

" Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen; qualem decet esse sororum.

But the habits, sentiments, and objects of both soon became modified by local causes, growing out of their condition in the New World; and as this condition was essentially alike in both, and as both at once adopted the same general rules and principles of English jurisprudence, and became accustomed to the authority of representative bodies, these differences gradually diminished. They disappeared by the progress of time and the influence of intercourse. The necessity of some degree of union and coöperation to defend themselves against the savage tribes, tended to excite in them mutual respect and regard. They fought together in the wars against France.° The great and common cause of the Revolution bound them to one another by new links of brotherhood; and at length the present constitution of government united them happily and gloriously, to form the

great republic of the world, and bound up their interests and fortunes, till the whole earth sees that there is now for them, in present possession as well as in future hope, but "One Country, One Constitution, and One Destiny."

The colonization of the tropical region, and the whole of the southern parts of the continent, by Spain and Portugal, was conducted on other principles, under the influence of other motives, and followed by far different consequences. From the time of its discovery, the Spanish Government pushed forward its settlements in America, not only with vigor, but with eagerness; so that, long before the first permanent English settlement had been accomplished in what is now the United States, Spain had conquered Mexico, Peru, and Chile,° and stretched her power over nearly all the territory she ever acquired on this continent. The rapidity of these conquests is to be ascribed in a great degree to the eagerness, not to say the rapacity, of those numerous bands of adventurers who were stimulated by individual interests and private hopes to subdue immense regions, and take possession of them in the name of the Crown of Spain. The mines of gold and silver were the incitements to these efforts, and accordingly settle-

ments were generally made, and Spanish authority established immediately on the subjugation of territory, that the native population might be set to work by their new Spanish masters in the mines. From these facts, the love of gold — gold not produced by industry, nor accumulated by commerce, but gold dug from its native bed in the bowels of the earth, and that earth ravished from its rightful possessors by every possible degree of enormity, cruelty, and crime — was long the governing passion in Spanish wars and Spanish settlements in America. Even Columbus himself did not wholly escape the influence of this base motive. In his early voyages we find him passing from island to island, inquiring everywhere for gold; as if God had opened the New World to the knowledge of the Old, only to gratify a passion equally senseless and sordid, and to offer up millions of an unoffending race of men to the destruction of the sword, sharpened both by cruelty and rapacity. And yet Columbus was far above his age and country. Enthusiastic, indeed, but sober, religious, and magnanimous; born to great things, and capable of high sentiments, as his noble discourse before Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as the whole history of his life, shows. Probably he sacrificed much

to the known sentiments of others, and addressed to his followers motives likely to influence them. At the same time, it is evident that he himself looked upon the world which he discovered as a world of wealth, all ready to be seized and enjoyed.

The conquerors and the European settlers of Spanish America were mainly military commanders and common soldiers. The monarchy of Spain was not transferred to this hemisphere, but it acted in it, as it acted at home, through its ordinary means, and its true representative, military force. The robbery and destruction of the native race was the achievement of standing armies, in the right of the King, and by his authority, fighting in his name, for the aggrandizement of his power and the extension of his prerogatives, with military ideas under arbitrary maxims, — a portion of that dreadful instrumentality by which a perfect despotism governs a people. As there was no liberty in Spain, how could liberty be transmitted to Spanish colonies?

The colonists of English America were of the people, and a people already free. They were of the middle, industrious, and already prosperous class, the inhabitants of commercial and manufacturing cities, among whom liberty first revived and respired, after

a sleep of a thousand years in the bosom of the Dark Ages. Spain descended on the New World in the armed and terrible image of her monarchy and her soldiery; England approached it in the winning and popular garb of personal rights, public protection, and civil freedom. England transplanted liberty to America; Spain transplanted power. England, through the agency of private companies and the efforts of individuals, colonized this part of North America by industrious individuals, making their own way in the wilderness, defending themselves against the savages, recognizing their right to the soil, and with a general honest purpose of introducing knowledge as well as Christianity among them. Spain stooped on South America like a vulture on its prey. Everything was force. Territories were acquired by fire and sword. Cities were destroyed by fire and sword. Hundreds of thousands of human beings fell by fire and sword. Even conversion to Christianity was attempted by fire and sword.

Behold, then, fellow-citizens, the difference resulting from the operation of the two principles! Here, to-day, on the summit of Bunker Hill, and at the foot of this monument, behold the difference! I would that the fifty thousand voices present could pro-

claim it with a shout which should be heard over the globe. Our inheritance was of liberty, secured and regulated by law, and enlightened by religion and knowledge; that of South America was of power, stern, unrelenting, tyrannical, military power. And now look to the consequences of the two principles on the general and aggregate happiness of the human race. Behold the results, in all the regions conquered by Cortes and Pizarro, and the contrasted results here. I suppose the territory of the United States may amount to one eighth, or one tenth, of that colonized by Spain on this continent; and yet in all that vast region there are but between one and two millions of people of European color and European blood, while in the United States there are fourteen millions° who rejoice in their descent from the people of the more northern part of Europe.

But we may follow the difference in the original principle of colonization, and in its character and objects, still further. We must look to moral and intellectual results; we must consider consequences, not only as they show themselves in hastening or retarding the increase of population and the supply of physical wants, but in their civilization, improvement, and happiness. We must inquire what prog

ress has been made in the true science of liberty, in the knowledge of the great principles of self-government, and in the progress of man, as a social, moral, and religious being.

I would not willingly say anything on this occasion discourteous to the new governments founded on the demolition of the power of the Spanish monarchy. They are yet on their trial, and I hope for a favorable result. But truth, sacred truth, and fidelity to the cause of civil liberty, compel me to say, that hitherto they have discovered quite too much of the spirit of that monarchy from which they separated themselves. Quite too frequent resort is made to military force; and quite too much of the substance of the people is consumed in maintaining armies, not for defence against foreign aggression, but for enforcing obedience to domestic authority. Standing armies are the oppressive instruments for governing the people in the hands of hereditary and arbitrary monarchs. A military republic, a government founded on mock elections and supported only by the sword, is a movement indeed, but a retrograde and disastrous movement, from the regular and old-fashioned monarchial systems. If men would enjoy the blessings of republican government, they

must govern themselves by reason, by mutual counsel and consultation, by a sense and feeling of general interest, and by the acquiescence of the minority in the will of the majority, properly expressed; and, above all, the military must be kept, according to the language of our Bill of Rights,° in strict subordination to the civil authority. Wherever this lesson is not both learned and practised, there can be no political freedom. Absurd, preposterous is it, a scoff and a satire on free forms of constitutional liberty, for frames of government to be prescribed by military leaders, and the right of suffrage to be exercised at the point of the sword.

Making all allowance for situation and climate, it cannot be doubted by intelligent minds that the difference now existing between North and South America is justly attributable, in a great degree, to political institutions in the Old World and in the New. And how broad that difference is! Suppose an assembly, in one of the valleys or on the side of one of the mountains of the southern half of the hemisphere, to be held this day in the neighborhood of a large city; — what would be the scene presented? Yonder is a volcano, flaming and smoking, but shedding no light, moral or intellectual. At its foot is

the mine, sometimes yielding, perhaps, large gains to capital, but in which labor is destined to eternal and unrequited toil, and followed only by penury and beggary. The city is filled with armed men; not a free people, armed and coming forth voluntarily to rejoice in a public festivity, but hireling troops, supported by forced loans, excessive impositions on commerce, or taxes wrung from a half-fed and a half-clothed population. For the great there are palaces covered with gold; for the poor there are hovels of the meanest sort. There is an ecclesiastical hierarchy, enjoying the wealth of princes; but there are no means of education for the people. Do public improvements favor intercourse between place and place? So far from this, the traveller cannot pass from town to town without danger, every mile, of robbery and assassination. I would not overcharge or exaggerate this picture; but its principal features are all too truly sketched.

And how does it contrast with the scene now actually before us? Look round upon these fields; they are verdant and beautiful, well cultivated, and at this moment loaded with the riches of the early harvest. The hands which till them are those of the free owners of the soil, enjoying equal rights, and

protected by law from oppression and tyranny. Look to the thousand vessels in our sight, filling the harbor, or covering the neighboring sea. They are the vehicles of a profitable commerce, carried on by men who know that the profits of their hardy enterprise, when they make them, are their own; and this commerce is encouraged and regulated by wise laws, and defended, when need be, by the valor and patriotism of the country. Look to that fair city, the abode of so much diffused wealth, so much general happiness and comfort, so much personal independence, and so much general knowledge, and not undistinguished, I may be permitted to add, for hospitality and social refinement. She fears no forced contributions, no siege or sacking from military leaders of rival factions. The hundred temples in which her citizens worship God are in no danger of sacrilege. The regular administration of the laws encounters no obstacle. The long processions of children and youth, which you see this day, issuing by thousands from her free schools, prove the care and anxiety with which a popular government provides for the education and morals of the people. Everywhere there is order; everywhere there is security. Everywhere the law reaches to the highest

and reaches to the lowest, to protect all in their rights, and to restrain all from wrong; and over all hovers Liberty; that Liberty for which our fathers fought and fell on this very spot, with her eye ever watchful and her eagle wing ever wide outspread.

The colonies of Spain, from their origin to their end, were subject to the sovereign authority of the mother country. Their government, as well as their commerce, was a strict home monopoly. If we add to this the established usage of filling important posts in the administration of the colonies exclusively by natives of Old Spain, thus cutting off for ever all hopes of honorable preferment from every man born in the Western hemisphere, causes enough rise up before us at once to account fully for the subsequent history and character of these provinces. The viceroys and provincial governors of Spain were never at home in their governments in America. They did not feel that they were of the people whom they governed. Their official character and employment have a good deal of resemblance to those of the proconsuls of Rome, in Asia, Sicily, and Gaul; but obviously no resemblance to those of Carver and Winthrop,° and very little to those of the governors

of Virginia after that Colony had established a popular House of Burgesses.

The English colonists in America, generally speaking, were men who were seeking new homes in a new world. They brought with them their families and all that was most dear to them. This was especially the case with the colonists of Plymouth and Massachusetts. Many of them were educated men, and all possessed their full share, according to their social condition, of the knowledge and attainments of that age. The distinctive characteristic of their settlement is the introduction of the civilization of Europe into a wilderness, without bringing with it the political institutions of Europe. The arts, sciences, and literature of England came over with the settlers. That great portion of the common law which regulates the social and personal relations and conduct of men came also. The jury came; the *habeas corpus* came; the testamentary power came; and the law of inheritance and descent came also, except that part of it which recognizes the rights of primogeniture, which either did not come at all, or soon gave way to the rule of equal partition of estates among children. But the monarchy did not come, nor the aristocracy, nor the church, as an estate of the realm.

Political institutions were to be framed anew, such as should be adapted to the state of things. But it could not be doubtful what should be the nature and character of these institutions. A general social equality prevailed among the settlers, and an equality of political rights seemed the natural, if not the necessary consequence. After forty years of revolution, violence, and war, the people of France have placed at the head of the fundamental instrument of their government, as the great boon obtained by all their sufferings and sacrifices, the declaration that all Frenchmen are equal before the law.° What France has reached only by the expenditure of so much blood and treasure, and the perpetration of so much crime, the English colonists obtained by simply changing their place, carrying with them the intellectual and moral culture of Europe, and the personal and social relations to which they were accustomed, but leaving behind their political institutions. It has been said with much vivacity, that the felicity of the American colonists consisted in their escape from the past. This is true so far as respects political establishments but no farther. They brought with them a full portion of all the riches of the past, in science, in art, in morals, religion, and literature. The Bible came with

them. And it is not to be doubted, that to the free and universal reading of the Bible, in that age, men were much indebted for right views of civil liberty. The Bible is a book of faith, and a book of doctrine, and a book of morals, and a book of religion, of especial revelation from God; but it it also a book which teaches man his own individual responsibility, his own dignity, and his equality with his fellow-man.

Bacon and Locke, and Shakespeare and Milton, also came with the colonists.° It was the object of the first settlers to form new political systems, but all that belonged to cultivated man, to family, to neighborhood, to social relations, accompanied them. In the Doric° phrase of one of our own historians, "they came to settle on bare creation;" but their settlement in the wilderness, nevertheless, was not a lodgment of nomadic tribes, a mere resting-place of roaming savages. It was the beginning of a permanent community, the fixed residence of cultivated men. Not only was English literature read, but English, good English, was spoken and written, before the axe had made way to let in the sun upon the habitations and fields of Plymouth and Massachusetts. And whatever may be said to the contrary, a correct use

of the English language is, at this day, more general throughout the United States than it is throughout England herself.

But another grand characteristic is, that, in the English Colonies, political affairs were left to be managed by the colonists themselves. This is another fact wholly distinguishing them in character, as it has distinguished them in fortune, from the colonists of Spain. Here lies the foundation of that experience in self-government, which has preserved order, and security, and regularity amidst the play of popular institutions. Home government was the secret of the prosperity of the North-American settlements. The more distinguished of the New-England colonists, with a most remarkable sagacity and a long-sighted reach into futurity, refused to come to America unless they could bring with them charters providing for the administration of their affairs in this country. They saw from the first the evils of being governed in the New World by a power fixed in the Old. Acknowledging the general superiority of the crown, they still insisted on the right of passing local laws, and of local administration. And history teaches us the justice and the value of this determination in the example of Virginia. The early attempts to

settle that colony failed, sometimes with the most melancholy and fatal consequences, from want of knowledge, care, and attention on the part of those who had the charge of their affairs in England; and it was only after the issuing of the third charter, that its prosperity fairly commenced. The cause was, that by that third charter the people of Virginia, for by this time they deserved to be so called, were allowed to constitute and establish the first popular representative assembly which ever convened on this continent, the Virginia House of Burgesses.°

The great elements, then, of the American system of government, originally introduced by the colonists, and which were early in operation, and ready to be developed, more and more, as the progress of events should justify or demand, were, —

Escape from the existing political systems of Europe, including its religious hierarchies, but the continued possession and enjoyment of its science and arts, its literature, and its manners;

Home government, or the power of making in the colony the municipal laws which were to govern it;

Equality of rights;

Representative assemblies, or forms of government founded on popular elections.

Few topics are more inviting, or more fit for philosophical discussion, than the effect on the happiness of mankind of institutions founded upon these principles; or, in other words, the influence of the New World upon the Old.

Her obligations to Europe for science and art, laws, literature, and manners, America acknowledges as she ought, with respect and gratitude. The people of the United States, descendants of the English stock, grateful for the treasures of knowledge derived from their English ancestors, admit also, with thanks and filial regard that among those ancestors, under the culture of Hampden and Sidney° and other assiduous friends, that seed of popular liberty first germinated, which on our soil has shot up to its full height, until its branches overshadow all tne land.

But America has not failed to make returns. If she has not wholly cancelled the obligation, or equalled it by others of like weight, she has, at least, made respectable advances towards repaying the debt. And she admits that, standing in the midst of civilized nations and in a civilized age, a nation among nations, there is a high part which she is expected to act, for the general advancement of human interests and human welfare.

American mines have filled the mints of Europe with the precious metals. The productions of the American soil and climate have poured out their abundance of luxuries for the tables of the rich, and of necessaries for the sustenance of the poor. Birds and animals of beauty and value have been added to the European stocks; and transplantations from the unequalled riches of our forests have mingled themselves profusely with the elms, and ashes, and druidical oaks of England.

America has made contributions to Europe far more important. Who can estimate the amount, or the value, of the augmentation of the commerce of the world that has resulted from America? Who can imagine to himself what would now be the shock to the Eastern Continent, if the Atlantic were no longer traversable, or if there were no longer American productions, or American markets?

But America exercises influences, or holds out examples, for the consideration of the Old World, of a much higher, because they are of a moral and political character.

America has furnished to Europe proof of the fact that popular institutions, founded on equality and the principle of representation, are capable of main-

taining governments able to secure the rights of person, property, and reputation.

America has proved that it is practicable to elevate the mass of mankind, — that portion which in Europe is called the laboring, or lower class, — to raise them to self-respect, to make them competent to act a part in the great right and great duty of self-government; and she has proved that this may be done by education and the diffusion of knowledge. She holds out an example, a thousand times more encouraging than ever was presented before, to those nine-tenths of the human race who are born without hereditary fortune or hereditary rank.

America has furnished to the world the character of Washington. And, if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind.

Washington! "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen!" ° Washington is all our own! The enthusiastic veneration and regard in which the people of the United States hold him prove them to be worthy of such a countryman; while his reputation abroad reflects the highest honor on his country. I would cheerfully put the question to-day to the intelligence of Europe

and the world, What character of the century, upon the whole, stands out in the relief of history, most pure, most respectable, most sublime? and I doubt not, that, by a suffrage approaching to unanimity, the answer would be Washington!

The structure now standing before us, by its uprightness, its solidity, its durability, is no unfit emblem of his character. His public virtues and public principles were as firm as the earth on which it stands; his personal motives, as pure as the serene heaven in which its summit is lost. But, indeed, though a fit, it is an inadequate emblem. Towering high above the column which our hands have builded, beheld, not by the inhabitants of a single city or a single State, but by all the families of man, ascends the colossal grandeur of the character and life of Washington. In all the constituents of the one, in all the acts of the other, in all its titles to immortal love, admiration, and renown, it is an American production. It is the embodiment and vindication of our Transatlantic liberty. Born upon our soil, of parents also born upon it; never for a moment having had sight of the Old World; instructed, according to the modes of his time, only in the spare, plain, but wholesome elementary knowledge which our

institutions provide for the children of the people; growing up beneath and penetrated by the genuine influences of American society; living from infancy to manhood and age amidst our expanding, but not luxurious civilization; partaking in our great destiny of labor, our long contest with unreclaimed nature and uncivilized man, our agony of glory, the war of Independence, our great victory of peace, the formation of the Union, and the establishment of the Constitution; he is all, all our own! Washington is ours. That crowded and glorious life,

> "Where multitudes of virtues passed along,
> Each pressing foremost, in the mighty throng
> Ambitious to be seen, then making room
> For greater multitudes that were to come,"—

that life was the life of an American citizen.

I claim him for America. In all the perils, in every darkened moment of the state, in the midst of the reproaches of enemies and the misgivings of friends, I turn to that transcendant name for courage and for consolation. To him who denies or doubts whether our fervid liberty can be combined with law, with order, with the security of property, with the pursuits and advancement of happiness; to him who denies that our forms of government are capable of

producing exultation of soul and the passion of true glory; to him who denies that we have contributed anything to the stock of great lessons and great examples; — to all these I reply by pointing to Washington!

And now, friends and fellow-citizens, it is time to bring this discourse to a close.

We have indulged in gratifying recollections of the past, in the prosperity and pleasures of the present, and in high hopes for the future. But let us remember that we have duties and obligations to perform, corresponding to the blessings which we enjoy. Let us remember the trust, the sacred trust, attaching to the rich inheritance which we have received from our fathers. Let us feel our personal responsibility, to the full extent of our power and influence, for the preservation of the principles of civil and religious liberty. And let us remember that it is only religion, and morals, and knowledge, that can make men respectable and happy under any form of government. Let us hold fast the great truth, that communities are responsible, as well as individuals; that no government is respectable which is not just; that without unspotted purity of public faith, with-

but sacred public principle, fidelity, and honor, no mere forms of government, no machinery of laws, can give dignity to political society. In our day and generation let us seek to raise and improve the moral sentiment, so that we may look, not for a degraded, but for an elevated and improved future. And when both we and our children shall have been consigned to the house appointed for all living, may love of country and pride of country glow with equal fervor among those to whom our names and our blood shall have descended! And then, when honored and decrepit age shall lean against the base of this monument, and troops of ingenuous youth shall be gathered round it, and when the one shall speak to the other of its objects, the purposes of its construction, and the great and glorious events with which it is connected, there shall rise from every youthful breast the ejaculation, "Thank God, I — I also — AM AN AMERICAN!"

NOTES

FAREWELL ADDRESS

1 : 4. arrived. Observe the balanced independent constructions leading to the principal statement. This formal introductory sentence, though quite in accord with the stately rhetoric of Washington's time, follows classical models more closely than is now customary. The usage of our own time is illustrated in the opening sentences of the two Bunker Hill orations.

2 : 12. election. In 1792.

2 : 15. foreign nations. France declared herself a republic in 1792. The wise course of Washington kept the country in a neutral position during the period of the French revolution known as "The Reign of Terror." This period has been generally considered to extend from January 21, 1793, the date of the execution of Louis XVI, to July 28, 1794, when Robespierre and other sanguinary leaders were guillotined on the spot where their victims had been killed. The atrocities committed during this period and its sudden end fully justified the policy of Washington.

2 : 16. persons. Washington even went so far as to send to Madison a number of topics and to ask him to consider them and express them in "plain and modest terms"; but Madison begged Washington to abandon his idea of retiring. Jefferson

wrote a letter, presenting at length the reason why he should remain in office, and ending with the words: "and I cannot but hope that you can resolve to add one or two more to the many years you have already sacrificed to the good of mankind."

3 : 6. unconscious. What is the grammatical relation of this word with the rest of the sentence?

3 : 10. years. Washington was now sixty-four.

5 : 17. former and not dissimilar occasion. Washington's "Farewell Address to the Armies of the United States," November 2, 1783. See the *Writings of George Washington*, ed. by W. C. Ford. Putnam's Edition, Vol. X, p. 330.

6 : 14. palladium.

> Set where the upper streams of Simois flow
> Was the Palladium, high 'mid rock and wood:
> And Hector was in Ilium, far below,
> And fought, and saw it not — but there it stood!
> It stood, and sun and moonshine rain'd their light
> On the pure columns of its glen-built hall.
> Backward and forward roll'd the waves of fight
> Round Troy — but while this stood, Troy could not fall.
>
> — MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Palladium*.

9 : 23. so large a sphere. Compare the population of the United States in 1790, 3,929,214, with that in 1900, when it was 76,215,129.

10 : 3. subdivisions. Form a clear conception of the powers and relations of the state and national governments.

10 : 6. shall. Notice the difference between *shall* and *will* in this sentence.

11 : 3. treaty with Spain. In 1795 a treaty with Spain was made by the United States, allowing both nations to use the Mississippi River.

11 : 9. with Great Britain. On the 18th of August, 1795, Washington signed the Jay Treaty with Great Britain. This treaty was violently opposed at first, but gradually its acceptance was considered wise.

11 : 25. first essay. The Articles of Confederation agreed upon in Congress in 1777 were not accepted by the last state until 1781. They remained as the basis of a feeble government until 1789.

11 : 25. adoption of a constitution. On April 30, 1789, in New York City by the inauguration of President Washington, a government was organized under the Constitution.

12 : 22. associations. Numerous "self-created societies" were formed in the land, influenced by the Jacobin clubs of France. Washington sternly opposed them without regard to his popularity. They soon passed away, as the failure of the French Revolution taught the people that liberty should be restrained by law.

21 : 13. excluded. The references here are especially to Great Britain and France.

28 : 1. proclamation. When it had been announced early in April that France had declared war against England, Washington, upon due deliberation with his cabinet, issued a proclamation of neutrality.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

31 : 11. We are. Notice the parallel sentences in this place and in other passages in this oration, often used with great effect.

31 : 14. not. This negative phrase is very impressive. It leads to a change of construction into a stronger positive sentence.

32 : 4. But. This conjunction is used to return to the previous line of thought.

32 : 24. discoverer of America. Columbus reached San Salvador on October 12, 1492, in the caravel *Santa Maria.* See, for fuller description of this scene, Irving's *Life of Columbus.*

33 : 11. colonists from England. In 1607 the English settlements began at Jamestown, Virginia.

33 : 21. Plymouth. On December 21, 1620, the Pilgrims landed upon Plymouth Rock from the *Mayflower.* See Webster's oration on the "First Settlement of New England."

33 : 23. ancient Colony. Maryland was first settled in 1634, at St. Mary's, on a branch of the Potomac, by colonists who came over in the *Ark* and the *Dove*, under the direction of the Baltimore family.

34 : 12. Society. The Bunker Hill Monument Association, of which Webster was at this time the president.

35 : 6. We know. Study the effect of the repetitions *we know* at the beginning and *we wish* at the close of this paragraph.

37 : 17. summit. This is a passage of great beauty and force, and is typical of Webster's best manner. It was used a

second time in reference to the Washington Monument in Webster's Address upon the Addition to the Capitol, July 4, 1851.

38 : 2. States. The twenty-four included all the present states east of the Mississippi River, except Michigan, Wisconsin, and Florida, together with Louisiana and Missouri beyond. Virginia included West Virginia.

38 : 9. twelve. In 1900 there were more than seventy millions. See note page 9, line 23.

38 : 12. become. Should this word and *prostrated* have the same auxiliary ?

38 : 12. neighbors. If the people were neighbors then through the usual routes of travel before the time of steam railroads, when only one hundred and twenty-two miles of horse-railroads had been built in the country between 1807 and 1830, how much more are they neighbors now with railroads, telegraphs, and telephones.

38 : 18. respect. Compare the present position of the United States in navies, revenues, and respect, since it has become a world power.

38 : 20. revolution. The French Revolution.

38 : 23. thrones. Consider how Napoleon made and unmade nations and altered the map of Europe.

39 : 2. free government. Paraguay became a republic in 1810 ; Ecuador secured its independence in 1822 ; the independence of the United States of the Rio de la Plata (now known as the Argentine Republic) was formally declared in 1816 ; and at the time of the delivery of this speech, the struggle for independence was in progress in Uruguay, in Chile, and in Bolivia, which governments soon after became republics.

39 : 4. European power. In 1823 President Monroe sent his famous message to Congress in regard to the encroachments of foreign nations on this continent.

This message contained the following sentences : " We owe it to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and the allied powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere ; but with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and just principles, acknowledged, we could not view an interposition for oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power, in any other light than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition to the United States." Also, " The American continents should no longer be subjects for any new European colonial settlement." These expressions embody what is known as the Monroe doctrine. As popularly understood, the Monroe doctrine meant a political protection and a guaranty of freedom from European interference to all states of North and South America.

39 : 24. Venerable men. Two hundred veterans of the Revolution, forty of whom were survivors of the Battle of Bunker Hill, were present at this address. Turning toward them as he spoke, Webster addressed to them this memorable passage.

40 : 18. metropolis. The city of Boston.

40 : 24. ships. Vessels of the United States navy lay near

the Charlestown Navy Yard, which was situated at the foot of the hill.

41 : 10. thank you. Webster's son Fletcher said that his father composed this passage while fishing in the Marsheepee River. Once, as he drew near his father, he heard him say, "Venerable men! you have come down to us from a former generation," etc.

41 : 12. Prescott. William Prescott (1726–1795) of Groton and Pepperell, Massachusetts, was a man of wealth, who served as captain in 1755 against Nova Scotia, commanded in the redoubt at Bunker Hill, fought as volunteer at Saratoga, 1777, and was a member of the legislature for several years.

Putnam. Israel Putnam (1718–1790) of Salem, Massachusetts, and Pomfret, Connecticut, was a valiant officer in the French and Indian War and in the Revolution. "He dared to lead where any dared to follow" is the inscription on his tombstone.

Stark. John Stark (1728–1822) of Londonderry, New Hampshire, was distinguished in the French and Indian War and in the Revolution. His name is associated with Ticonderoga and Bennington. After the war he returned to his farm.

Brooks. John Brooks, M.D. (1752–1825) of Medford, Massachusetts, fought at Lexington, Saratoga, Monmouth, became adjutant-general, and was governor of Massachusetts, 1816–1823.

Reed. James Reed (1724–1798) of Woburn, Massachusetts, and Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, served in the French and Indian War, was colonel of the 2d New Hampshire Regiment at Bunker Hill, and became brigadier-general. He lost his sight from smallpox in 1776.

Pomeroy. Seth Pomeroy (1706–1777) of Northampton, Massachusetts, fought in the battle of Lake George, 1755, became brigadier-general in 1755, and fought at Bunker Hill. He reenforced Washington on the Hudson in 1776.

Bridge. Ebenezer Bridge was colonel of a Massachusetts regiment at the battle. Although wounded on the head and neck with a sword cut, he was one of the last to retreat.

41 : 25. mid-noon. Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book V, ll. 310–311.

42 : 3. Him. Major-General Joseph Warren (1741–1775) of Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was a physician in Boston in 1762, the orator of the Boston Massacre in 1772, president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and chairman of the Committee of Public Safety in 1774.

42 : 14. thy name. A change from the third person to the second with grammatical license is made, as if under the stress of violent emotion the orator would address the form which his imagination set before him.

43 : 6. Trenton. Washington crossed the Delaware on Christmas night in 1776, and on the following day captured nearly a thousand men at Trenton.

Monmouth. The battle of Monmouth took place on June 28, 1778. As a result, Washington drove the British from New Jersey.

Yorktown. The British army under Lord Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown, October 19, 1781. This disaster brought about the fall of the North Ministry and the recognition by Great Britain of the independence of the United States.

Camden. On August 16, 1780, was fought at Camden, South

Carolina, a battle between the British forces under Lord Cornwallis and the American forces under General Gates. In this battle Gates was defeated, losing thereby his military reputation.

Bennington. Burgoyne lost nearly a thousand men at Bennington, Vermont, before Colonel John Stark, August 16, 1777.

Saratoga. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, October 17, 1777.

44 : 13. **battle.** See Introduction.

44 : 20. **act for altering the government.** In 1774 Parliament passed "four intolerable acts." Among these was the Regulating Act, which altered the charter of Massachusetts, deprived the people of many political rights, forbade town-meetings, and made the governor supreme. Another was the Boston Port Act, which removed the capital to Salem and closed the port of Boston to commerce.

45 : 16. **interest.** Notice the forceful repetition of the word.

45 : 19. **Salem.** Salem was settled by the Puritans under John Endicott in 1628, two years before Boston.

46 : 14. **Continental Congress.** The second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, and continued until March, 1781, when it was succeeded by the Congress of the Confederation.

46 : 20. **Congress of Massachusetts.** When Governor Gates suspended the Provincial Assembly in 1774, it resolved itself into the Congress of Massachusetts. It met at Concord and chose a Committee of Safety for the defence of the colony.

47 : 6. **Lexington and Concord.** On the morning of April 19, 1775, a strong detachment of British soldiers, sent out by General Gage to seize arms and stores said to be accumulated at

Concord, a small town about eighteen miles from Boston, reached Lexington, where they found a small body of militia drawn up to oppose them. A conflict ensued on Lexington Common, in which the first blood of the War of the Revolution was shed. The British soldiers pressed on to Concord, where they found that most of the stores and munitions of war had been removed to a place of greater security. While in Concord the soldiers were attacked by the militiamen, and their return was the signal for a general engagement. These battles of Lexington and Concord, though insignificant when considered with reference to the number of men engaged, marked the real commencement of the Revolutionary War.

47 : 12. miscet. Virgil's *Æneid*, VI, 726. "And an Intelligence, spread through the parts, directs the whole mass and is mingled with the vast body."

47 : 24. Quincy. Josiah Quincy, Jr. (1744–1775). In 1767, at a time of great excitement on account of the oppressive measures, Quincy wrote the quoted words, in a letter signed *Hyperion*, to the *Boston Gazette*.

48 : 7. four. There were not six, for Maine at this time was a district of Massachusetts, and the territory of Vermont was a subject of dispute between New Hampshire and New York until 1777.

49 : 22. one who now hears me. General Lafayette, on a visit to America, after a remarkable progress through the country, reached Boston in time for this occasion, and sat in front of the orator among the Revolutionary officers. When Webster addressed him, he arose and remained standing with uncovered head.

51 : 3. Parker. Moses Parker (1732–1775), lieutenant-colonel of Bridge's regiment, a gallant veteran of the French wars, had his knee fractured by a ball, was left in the redoubt, carried prisoner to Boston, and lodged in jail, where his leg was amputated. He died July 4.

Gardner. Thomas Gardner (1724–1775) of Cambridge, colonel of the Middlesex regiment, was mortally wounded, as he advanced to defend the redoubt on the third attack. He died the next day.

McClary. Andrew McClary, major of Colonel Stark's regiment, after a brave fight in the battle, rode to Medford for bandages, then reconnoitred the British on Bunker Hill, and when returning was killed by a shot from a British frigate.

Moore. Willard Moore, of Paxton, Massachusetts, major in Ephraim Doolittle's regiment, was shot at the time of the second charge, and was being carried to the rear, when a ball passed through his body. He died on the battlefield alone, telling his men to save themselves.

51 : 18. Greene. Nathaniel Greene (1742–1786), of Warwick, Rhode Island, was with Washington at Cambridge. He was made major-general August, 1776, fought at Trenton and Princeton, was quartermaster general in 1778, was at Monmouth and Tiverton Heights, superseded Gates at the South, recovered South Carolina by many battles, and was honored by the South, where he died near Savannah.

Gates. Horatio Gates (1728–1806) was born in England. He gained glory from the capture of Burgoyne, but was not successful at the South.

Sullivan. John Sullivan (1740–1795) of Berwick, Maine, was

a general in active and conspicuous service during the Revolution. Afterward he became member of Congress, and was United States judge in New Hampshire from 1789 till the time of his death.

Lincoln. Benjamin Lincoln (1733–1810) of Hingham, Massachusetts, was a prominent general of the Revolution both at the North and at the South. He received Cornwallis's sword. He was influential in Boston and in the nation through a long and honorable life.

51 : 22. redeas. Horace, *Odes*, I, 2, 45, "Late may you return into heaven."

55 : 2. wars. The wars during the wonderful career of Napoleon involved all Europe.

55 : 23. terror around. The French Revolution resulted in the "Reign of Terror." See note to page 2, line 15.

58 : 12. Louis the Fourteenth. This grand monarch was king of France from 1643 to 1715.

58 : 21. the powers of government are but a trust. As future citizens of the republic consider carefully and patriotically the value of this proposition.

59 : 7. Ajax asks no more. This is from Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad*, Book XVII, line 729.

60 : 1. Greeks. The struggle of Greece for independence lasted from 1820 to 1828. Webster had made a speech in Congress, January 19, 1824, expressing the sympathy of the American people, and at the time of this oration there was intense interest in the issue of the struggle.

61 : 9. revolution of South America. This took place between 1810 and 1824.

64 : 25. Solon. Solon did his work for Athens in the seventh century before Christ; Alfred the Great did his for England in the ninth century after Christ.

65 : 15. twenty-four States. Now in 1905 there are forty-five states and surely ONE COUNTRY.

THE COMPLETION OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

67 : 25. The mothers. The women of Boston held a fair in Faneuil Hall, to which the women all over the land contributed.

68 : 9. William Tudor. William Tudor (1779–1830) of Boston was a business man who engaged in literary pursuits. He was one of the organizers of the Boston Athenæum. He founded the *North American Review* in 1815. In regard to his relation to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, see Section V of the Introduction.

68 : 14. William Sullivan. William Sullivan (1774–1839) of Saco, Maine, became a leading lawyer of Boston, a constant member of the legislature, an eloquent speaker, and a voluminous writer.

68 : 19. George Blake. George Blake (1768–1841) was district attorney for Massachusetts.

69 : 17. Thomas H. Perkins. Thomas H. Perkins (1764–1854) of Boston was a rich merchant. Enduring memorials of his charities are an Asylum for the Blind and the General Hospital. He took a prominent part later in the erection of the Washington monument.

70 : 9. Lafayette Lafayette died in Paris, May 20, 1834.

70 : 13. son. This son, William Prescott, was the father of the historian, William H. Prescott.

71 : 16. absurdum est. Sallust's *Catiline*, Chapter III. "It is a good thing to serve the state; it is not indeed a bad thing to speak well of it."

72 : 12. before us. Here Webster raised his hand toward the monument and paused. The audience was thrilled, and tremendous applause swayed it and stayed the speaker for some time.

72 : 16. tones of music. Webster here is probably recalling the famous statue called by the Greeks Memnon, in the sepulchral quarter of Thebes called Memnoneia, which possessed the real or imaginary property of emitting a sound like that of a harp at the rising of the sun. On this statue are seventy-two inscriptions in Greek and Latin, by distinguished travellers, declaring that they had visited the statue and heard its voice by sunrise. The theory is advanced that the heat of the rising sun, drawing rapidly the moisture from the porous rock, produces the musical note.

74 : 23. chief executive magistrate. John Tyler of Virginia, elected Vice-President with Harrison, after the latter's early death, was President from 1841 to 1845.

75 : 4. Yorktown. The birthplace of John Tyler was Charles City, Virginia, between Yorktown and Richmond.

75 : 8. Knowlton. Captain Thomas Knowlton was born at Boxford, Massachusetts. He commanded a Connecticut company at the battle of Bunker Hill. He led in the building of the rail fence, and fought bravely there through the battle. He was killed at the battle of Harlem Heights, September 16, 1776.

75 : 20. Governor. Marcus Morton held the office at this time. He formerly had been congressman and judge.

75 : 21. Rhode Island. The governor of Rhode Island was James Fenner, who held the office for fourteen years and was prominent in the affairs of his state for fifty years.

76 : 2. ex-president. John Quincy Adams was President from 1825 to 1829.

76 : 8. Adams. John Adams, afterward the second President of the United States.

77 : 19. respectable. "Worthy of respect," is Webster's meaning of this word.

84 : 9. settlements. From 1492 to 1607 and 1620.

84 : 14. Henry the Seventh. He was king of England from 1485 to 1509. During these years John and Sebastian Cabot made important discoveries on the coast of North America.

86 : 2. civil wars. In 1642, during the reign of Charles I.

86 : 5. Lancaster. This controversy was the War of the Roses, which ended with the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster under Henry VII.

86 : 12. Luther. Martin Luther (1483–1546). He nailed his ninety-five theses to the church-door in Wittenberg, October 31, 1517.

87 : 13. Raleigh. Sir Walter Raleigh (1552–1618). He explored the parts of North America, which Queen Elizabeth named Virginia in 1585.

88 : 14. Pilgrims. Compare Webster's Address at Plymouth, December 22, 1820, on the "First Settlement of New England."

89 : 7. sororum. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book II, line 13.

"All have not like features, nor yet widely different; but such as become sisters."

89 : 20. **France.** There were four of these wars in the years 1689, 1701, 1744, and 1754.

90 : 16. **Chile.** Cortes conquered Mexico in 1520; Pizarro conquered Peru and Chile in 1533.

94 : 10. **fourteen millions.** In 1905 there are over seventy millions.

96 : 6. **Bill of Rights.** A part of the constitution of Massachusetts.

99 : 25. **Carver and Winthrop.** John Carver (1575–1621) was the first governor of Plymouth Colony. John Winthrop (1588–1649) was the first governor of Massachusetts.

101 : 12. **law.** This was done when Louis Philippe came into power in 1830.

102 : 11. **colonists.** As colonists continued to come through the seventeenth century, this was literally true. Notice the dates of Bacon, 1561–1626, Locke, 1632–1704, Shakespeare, 1564–1616, and Milton, 1608–1674.

103 : 15. **Doric.** After the character of Doric art and speech, which were plain and expressive.

104 : 11. **House of Burgesses.** It met at Jamestown in 1619.

105 : 13. **Hampden and Sidney.** John Hampden (1594–1643) refused to pay an unjust tax of Charles I and so became the most popular man in England. Algernon Sidney (1622–1683) endeavored for a long time to establish a republic in England.

107 : 19. **countrymen.** These were the words of Henry Lee in his resolution on the death of Washington, in the House of Representatives, 1799.

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